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Will the real
Libertarians
please stand up?

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GERMANY'S CRASH COURSE IN N.A.T.O. FLYING

Re-examining the
Ramstein Air Show disaster **page 9**



Charles Waller, © 1988, INX

It's the rave on Capitol Hill, but does workfare work?

By Joan Walsh

SAN FRANCISCO

After two decades and four presidential administrations of partisan wrangling, Congress is on the brink of overhauling the nation's welfare system to put clients to work. Yet the plan, now heralded as a bold new venture, is already sadly outdated.

Programs known as workfare use job training, child-care funds and mandated work requirements aimed at getting welfare mothers into the labor market. They are not new. States, counties and cities have been experi-

menting with workfare on their own since the '70s. Hailed as a welcome innovation, those local projects inspired the welfare-to-work bills—authored by New York Democrats Rep. Tom Downey and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan—which stand a good chance of becoming law.

Yet follow-up research has shown that the lasting effects of such programs are minimal. San Diego's widely praised workfare project, for instance, which inspired California's landmark welfare reform effort, raised participants' annual earnings a grand total of \$560, to \$3,040, compared to welfare clients who didn't participate. It reduced their reliance on welfare only slightly. Most programs had even smaller benefits. The projects that worked best spent the most money on training and services—much more than Congress is willing to spend in the shadow of the federal deficit. Based on the results of workfare experiments, Isabel Sawhill of the Urban Institute estimates that a national effort would reduce participants' welfare reliance by only 1 to 5 percent, while raising their earnings 3 to 6 percent.

The old bootstraps argument: Why, then, the enthusiasm for a national welfare-to-work plan? From a narrow point of view, such programs have been cost effective, with funds for training and services balanced by savings, often temporary, on welfare costs. More important, they reflect a triumph of the Reagan-era notion that welfare has worsened the plight of the poor by providing an alternative to work and family support, and encouraging unemployment, unmarried parenthood and crime. Thus they start from the questionable premise that it's less important to boost people out of poverty than off welfare.

In fact, many of the programs work like a shell game—welfare clients disappear, become the working poor and later turn up again on welfare. In California, most people who have gotten jobs through the state's welfare-to-work program to date actually stay on welfare, because their salaries are so low they remain eligible for a partial Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) grant. The new welfare reform mania pays insufficient attention

to three central facts about the adults who receive AFDC today:

- They are single mothers, trying to be both breadwinner and nurturer, at a time when most families need two wage-earners to survive.
- Many, if not most, lack high school diplomas, at a time when workers who didn't graduate from high school have watched their wages and employment prospects shrink. In California's Silicon Valley region, two-thirds of the AFDC population dropped out of high school. In Massachusetts, half are dropouts. Without innovative, costly education programs, they will never qualify for jobs paying more than poverty-level wages.
- Most had their first children as teenagers, yet neither the Massachusetts nor California welfare-to-work plans—the nation's two largest—directs substantial resources to teen mothers.

The odd man out: Maybe most disturbing, the programs' emphasis on paid work over family responsibilities threatens to fray the bonds between mother and children. Even at their most successful, they aim to turn welfare mothers into single supermoms, while ignoring the missing figure in most AFDC families: dad.

The rising number of families headed by single mothers, especially black families, has less to do with welfare than with a decline in the wages and job opportunities of men, particularly black men. Regions of the country with the sharpest rise in black, female-headed families have seen the sharpest decline in employment among black men.

Young black men have seen their median income fall a staggering 44 percent since 1973. That's critical, since

INSIDE STORY

young men who earn enough to support a family of three above the poverty line are almost three times more likely to be married than men with poverty-level earnings.

Some efforts may work better than others. Massachusetts' Employment and Training Choices (ET) has put more than 40,000 welfare clients to work since 1983, at an average annual salary of \$13,500. Essentially a voluntary program, unlike most, ET capitalized on the state's labor shortage. It helps women get by on low wages by providing child care and health insurance long after they start work. Yet with poverty rates above 20 percent even in booming Boston, it's clear that ET is not a solution to poverty.

While Congress haggles over workfare, anti-poverty experts and advocates have begun to seek solutions outside the welfare system. Just putting welfare mothers to work isn't the answer, because work is no longer a route out of poverty for many people. The number of workers employed more than 30 hours a week who are still poor has jumped by half since 1978, to more than twice the number of adults on AFDC.

A genuine anti-poverty strategy must focus on whole families: men, women and children. It would target the working poor, by expanding the existing Earned Income Tax Credit—a proposal with bipartisan support—raising the minimum wage and subsidizing health insurance for low-wage workers not covered on the job.

It would strengthen child-support enforcement, to ensure that both parents contribute financially to every child's upbringing. And it would provide poor children with the comprehensive child-development, health and education services that they need to avoid a lifetime of poverty.

With a quarter of the nation's children under six—its future parents, its future workforce—living in poverty today, a genuine anti-poverty strategy is critical. Workfare isn't it. The country cannot afford to let a shell game stand as its major effort to help poor parents support their families.

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By David Moberg

Duke's task on economy: making 'Swiss cheese' stink

TO GEORGE BUSH THE AMERICAN ECONOMY looks like a cornucopia of high-paying jobs flowing faster than people can chase them. And despite campaign hyperbole, such as promising to create more jobs than people in the future workforce, some economic indicators clearly bolster his candidacy. Unemployment, despite an uptick last month, is lower than when Ronald Reagan took office. Inflation is moderate. And there's been a long recovery since the deep recession of 1982-83.

Although public confidence in the ability of the Republicans to bring prosperity has dropped dramatically since 1986, the Democrats still slightly trail on this key polling statistic. And typically, Democrats have required a wide margin of confidence on bringing prosperity to win the presidency.

But other economic indicators paint a much less rosy picture. The trick for Michael Dukakis is to make them politically relevant.

Holes everywhere: It's obvious that the country is enjoying what Sen. Lloyd Bentsen called a "Swiss cheese" prosperity, full of regional holes. That will help the Democrats but not win the race. More important, although Americans are relatively bullish on their own futures for the next year, they're worried about the country's economic future.

They have good reason to worry. And they also have reason to be far more critical of the current conditions than they apparently are. They also suggest a potential avenue by which the Dukakis campaign could mobilize discontent.

Some of the ammunition has been assembled by the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), a labor-backed Washington think tank, published in a new study called *The State of Working America* that was compiled by EPI economists Lawrence Mishel and Jacqueline Simon. Their picture of how the average American has fared since the last business cycle peak of 1979 isn't favorable to Reagan or Bush. The problem is not just the holes in the Swiss cheese; the problem is that all the cheese has gone to the few fat cats, and the multitude of church mice are poor as ever.

Real wages have declined 7 percent from 1979 to 1987. Family incomes have remained at the 1979 level, recovering only recently as more family members worked, and worked longer hours. That means the median family—making roughly \$30,000—has not gained any real income since 1973. And families who couldn't deploy another wage earner have lost as much as 6.5 percent in real family income.

But, unimpressive as this record is, these average figures conceal a growing inequality in incomes as quite literally the rich have gotten richer and the poor poorer with the middle working harder to stay even. The bottom four-fifths of families have lost from 1.8 percent to 14.8 percent of their family income from 1977 to this year, with the poorest losing the most. The top 10 percent have gained 16.5 percent in family income over that time, or \$31,473 a year. The top 1 percent have hit Lotto with their Reagan-Bush ticket: a 49.8 percent increase in real family income. That means that the top 1 percent will on the average have \$134,513 more in real income in 1988 than they did in 1977.

Inequality in the distribution of wealth—the stocks, bonds and real estate that historically have been concentrated in the hands of the well-to-do—has also grown. With comparatively high real interest rates, income from property has risen three times as fast as income from work, helping to explain the growing maldistribution of income.

Real income per capita, unlike average family income, has increased since 1979. But it has grown far more slowly than in earlier parts of the post-war era, including the '70s epoch of stagflation. And the improvement comes mainly from the population getting older, and families forming later or having fewer children (some out of choice, some out of economic necessity).

The major victims of the nation's stagnation and growing inequality have been the young. Children are more likely to be poor than any other age group; one-fifth of all kids under 18 and 45 percent of all black children under 18 now live in poverty.

But even non-poor young families have been left out. Families headed by someone under 25 have suffered an average 3 percent annual drop in income since 1979. And the drop is worse for those with children. That's meant deferred dreams of home ownership and a crushing financial burden of frequently inadequate child care while everyone in the family works.

It's not the jobs, it's the quality: One main reason for this hardship for young families is the quality of jobs being created. First, despite the Reagan-Bush claims for miraculous creation of jobs, there was much faster employment growth from 1973-79 (2.53 percent annually) than from 1979-87 (1.63 percent). Even the much-maligned Carter years annually generated more jobs than in each year of Reagan's "morning in America."

Moreover, the new jobs in the '80s have disproportionately been low-wage, although there's been growth in high-wage jobs, too. There's been a running academic battle on this issue that has spilled into the presiden-

tial campaign. Economists Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison of the University of Massachusetts and MIT late last year updated their December 1986 argument about the faster growth of bad jobs in response to criticisms. From 1979 to 1986 the low-wage workforce rose from 13.8 percent of all year-round, full-time employment to 17.2 percent, while middle-income jobs declined and high-income jobs rose slightly. That change indicates that the new jobs created have overwhelmingly been poor quality, and George Bush's campaign claims to the contrary are simply not true.

Bluestone and Harrison's main critic has been American Enterprise Institute economist Marvin Kosters. However, even though his figures differ significantly—and his interpretation even more so—from theirs, his most recent analysis in July still shows a significant increase in the proportion of low-wage jobs for full-time, year-round workers after 1979 and a corresponding decline in middle-income jobs and lesser growth in high-income jobs.

It's obvious that the country is enjoying what Sen. Lloyd Bentsen called "Swiss cheese" prosperity, full of regional holes. But the problem is not just the holes; it's that all the cheese has gone to a few fat cats.

Bluestone and Harrison's latest research shows that nearly 60 percent of 12.8 million net new jobs created from 1979 to 1986 paid wages that would have, if they were full-time, provided annual incomes below the poverty

line for a family of four. In 1979 only 31 percent of all jobs paid that poorly; 65 percent of jobs paid full-time equivalent wages between one and four times the poverty line, and only 3.9 percent paid four times the poverty level. But from 1979 to 1986 only one-third of new jobs paid middle-income wages, and 10.2 percent paid high wages.

This polarization exists throughout the country, but it is most dramatic in the big cities, especially New York. In major urban centers since 1979, 74.7 percent of new jobs created have been low wage, only 7.8 percent middle level and 17.5 percent high income, "yuppie" level. In some parts of the country, like the North Central region, the general trend toward polarization is overshadowed by a shift, down, down, down.

There has also been a strong growth in involuntary part-time employment and temporary workers. Not only are these workers' wages usually comparatively low, but also they tend to have lower overall earnings and few or no benefits.

A study by University of Massachusetts economist Robert M. Costrell issued in August by the Joint Economic Committee confirms many earlier studies and anecdotal impressions: there's a huge pay gap, which he calculates at \$10,404 in wages and benefits, between the expanding sectors (such as retail trade, restaurants and hotels, and business services) and those that are losing jobs (steel, railroads, oil, telecommunications and other manufacturing).

The comparatively sluggish job-creation rate of the Reagan years reflects fundamental weakness in the economy: the loss of many of the industries that generate real wealth and export income. To counter that charge of deindustrialization many economists have cited U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) data showing manufacturing yielding a relatively stable 22 percent of national output from the early '70s through mid-'80s.

But EPI's Mishel, in a separate study titled *Manufacturing Numbers: How Inaccurate Statistics Conceal U.S. Industrial Decline*, convincingly criticizes how the BLS arrived at those figures. His analysis suggests manufacturing's share dropped by 2.8 to 4.5 percentage points—a decline of as much as one-fifth—from 1973 to 1979. Mishel's critique also means that manufacturing productivity has grown less than previously believed and only at about 60 percent of the growth rate in other industrialized countries, even though it has improved since the sluggish '70s.

Dukakis' task: The Reagan record on job creation is historically unimpressive, and on incomes and the quality of new jobs it is dismal. Moreover, the economy's poor performance and growing inequality are not just issues of fairness or some people being left out. Stagnant incomes lead to a stagnant domestic market, which gives capitalists little incentive to invest in new plants and equipment. Declining manufacturing means less ability to pay back the massive debt run up as the country continues to suffer staggering trade deficits.

If Dukakis wants to win, he will have to stir up a little populist anger at stagnation and decline for the lower and middle class, at polarization of society and privilege for the rich and at a governmental economic policy that is rapidly undermining the economic future of America. □

By Maggie Garb

Best camp for boys and girls

Education Secretary William Bennett says local school boards should look to the military when searching for new principals. In an interview on NBC's *Meet the Press* last week, Bennett said that many schools would benefit from having someone like Gen. Patton patrolling the halls. Although Bennett offered this gem while stumping for George Bush, he admitted he hasn't ruled out a run for the presidency sometime in the '90s.

No raise for the weary

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader sent a Labor Day note to Congress reminding the lawmakers that people working for the minimum wage haven't gotten a raise in seven years. Nader also reminded them that they've given themselves about \$28,000 in salary increases since 1981. At the current salary of \$89,500 a year, a member of Congress makes about \$43 an hour—if he or she works a 40-hour week for 50 weeks a year. Compare that to someone who makes the \$3.35-an-hour minimum wage and works 40 hours a week for 50 weeks a year. That totals less than \$7,000 a year, or well under the poverty level for a family of four.

More kissing and telling

President Reagan has said he's tired of "those kiss-and-tell books," but that admission hasn't deterred one of his old friends, former Sen. Barry Goldwater. The conservative from Arizona has a new book due out this fall, and judging from preview publicity it won't get the president's endorsement. Consider this quote being used to promote Goldwater's book: "I believe Reagan did know of the diversion of Iranian funds to the contras. He had to know. The White House explanation makes him out to be either a liar or incompetent."

A long overdue apology

The U.S. State Department has issued an apology to *In These Times* El Salvador correspondent Chris Norton. The apology comes nearly three months after the department's San Salvador embassy's *Daily Press Digest* reprinted a story by Norton in a section titled "Leftist Propaganda in the U.S." (see *In These Times*, July 20). No one at the embassy would accept credit for editing the section. Norton later wrote to Secretary of State George Shultz that such a label could be a death warrant for a journalist working in El Salvador, where death squads have killed thousands of people who were merely suspected of being "leftists." In the apology letter, former U.S. Ambassador Edwin G. Corr attempted to clear high-ranking embassy staff of responsibility, in particular claiming that Deputy Chief of Missions David Dlouhy was not responsible for the life-threatening "mistake." But Dlouhy is probably one of the few embassy employees with access to the documents needed to pull off such a stunt, and his former job would have been good training for such attacks on journalists. In the early '80s Dlouhy worked for the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy, which, according to a State Department spokesman, "helps the public to understand the thrust of U.S. foreign policy." The agency, in other words, fuels the Reagan administration's P.R. machine.

OSHA's deadly vacation

This just in: OSHA has been on vacation for the past eight years. That's according to a new study from the Chicago-based National Safety Workplace Institute. The study found that since 1981 9,115 workers died from job-related accidents that would not have occurred if the 1980 movement for job safety standards had continued through 1987. Instead, the study found, OSHA's standards have fallen. For example, an OSHA inspector in 1980 was three times more likely to issue the agency's strongest sanction than an inspector working between 1981 and 1987. In addition, while OSHA has boasted its "mega" fine strategy, the study found the agency was making "sweetheart deals" with major corporations. Of the agency's 11 largest settlements in the past seven years, nine were reduced by amounts ranging from 32 to 89 percent.

Woman fights fire with fire

After seven months of protest, firefighter Lori Moon is back on the job. Moon, a trained emergency technician and former volunteer firefighter, was dismissed last February just four days before completing her one-year probation with the Athens, Ohio, fire de-



The American Indian Movement, in its 20th year, has electrified the political will of Indians nationwide.

AIM celebrates its 20th year

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Twenty years ago, a group of Indians living in Minneapolis organized a volunteer street patrol to protect neighborhood residents from Minneapolis police. Combatting police brutality has been just one of the ongoing projects of the American Indian Movement (AIM), which celebrated its 20th anniversary last week with a three-day traditional powwow and conference at Fort Snelling State Park near Minneapolis.

Since its early days AIM's efforts to assert the cultural identity and sovereign rights of American Indian tribes have spread from the group's core leaders to electrify the political will of Indians nationwide. AIM helped create a variety of social service programs in Minnesota, and its militant advocacy of human rights for American Indians paved the way for congressional legislation on issues ranging from education to religion.

But AIM's confrontational methods and controversial leadership also won the group enemies in government and in the Indian community.

During the '70s the movement's leadership endured a federal surveillance and infiltration campaign and engaged in several pitched battles with federal forces, the most famous of which occurred at Wounded Knee, S.D., in 1973.

Young Dems organize in Hungary

BUDAPEST—It's hard to believe that the founding of a new student organization would arouse the notice, much less the antagonism, of top

In the spring of this year, national director Clyde Bellecourt was released from prison after serving time for LSD distribution.

During the movement's darkest hours, "we never dreamed we would develop this far," said Bellecourt, who helped start AIM with Dennis Banks, George Mitchell and Harold Good Sky.

For Mitchell, the movement's success is visible in cultural pride and professional mobility that didn't exist in 1968. "When I was growing up, we were constantly slapped down and kicked around," said Mitchell, an Anishinabe (Ojibway) Indian from western Minnesota's White Earth Reservation. "Now we're in every strata of life, telephone repairmen, cab drivers, government..."

AIM's confrontational, high-profile tactics contrast with the more low-key methods of reservation governments, which usually choose to work through the system.

Robert Peacock, chairman of the Fon Du Lac Anishinabe reservation in northeastern Minnesota, said there is a need for both methods. "Every year, bills are introduced to take the ground gained by Indians. We have to remain vigilant and use every tool at our command to maintain our position."

For many Indians, AIM's 20th anniversary is a time for celebration, but some Indian leaders are far more caustic in their evaluation. Two leaders of the Minnesota Indian community spoke to *In These Times* on the

condition of anonymity, fearing violent retribution for publicly criticizing AIM. When dealing with AIM's leadership, "you're dealing with a bunch of thugs," said one leader.

"[Clyde Bellecourt] tries to be a Nelson Mandela and he's not. If you're going to write to your hero, you shouldn't have to write to Leavenworth [prison]."

"I don't think that selling drugs to kids is an appropriate leadership role," said the source.

Bellecourt denies the charges, alleging that he was set up by municipal, county, state and federal police authorities. But he said his recent prison stint showed him how chemical dependency in American Indians often is linked to criminal activity and prison terms. "I have decided to dedicate my life to working with young people to prevent them from winding up in those situations."

After initiating street patrols in south Minneapolis, AIM leaders went on to organize social programs in health, economic development and job training. In 1972 they occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Washington, D.C., to protest the plight of American Indians. A year later, at the request of tribal elders, AIM members occupied Wounded Knee, S.D., to protest corruption in the tribal government.

Since then AIM has gone on to play an international role advocating human rights for indigenous peoples in Central America and North Africa.

—Kurt Erickson

outgoing Communist Party leader Janos Kadar responded, warning the Extraordinary Party Congress that "divisive" efforts were "threatening the unity of existing youth organizations."

Like the rest of Eastern Europe, almost all Hungarian tykes get swept up in the Young Pioneers movement.

In their teens, those young people who are at all politically motivated—such as the founders of the League of Young Democrats—pass from the Young Pioneers to the Communist Youth Organization. This arena, besides absorbing and channelling activist impulses, is the proving ground for all future *apparatchiks* that leads to career opportunities in the state and party bureaucracies.

But those young people not interested in a bureaucratic career are soon alienated by the stiffness of the organization and the enforced subservience of the local chapters to central command. In addition, Hungary's material austerity leads many young Hungarians to devote themselves to the prerequisites of survival—especially the all-important struggle to get one's own apartment. Both these factors give potential student activists good reasons to become complacent citizen-consumers and to drop out of political life.

But the historic or actual memory of the firebrand role played by students in the crushed revolution of 1956—also the occasion of the founding of a rival youth organization continues to burn for the would-be rebels and their opponents alike. Directly following the biggest independent demonstration since 1956—on March 15 of this year, the anniversary of the failed 1848 National Revolution—rebel students, inspired by chants for "Democracy!," "Freedom of press and assembly!"

and "Real reforms," organized the League of Young Democrats.

After announcing the group's formation on March 30, five of the founders were separately "invited" to a police station and pressured to sign a statement saying they would discontinue their activities. Only one did so. The others, on this occasion and at the subsequent collective invitation to the state prosecutor's office, asked for exact, written citations of how they had broken the law and/or offended the constitution. Although both the police and the state prosecutor threatened the young activists with charges of treason, neither was willing or able to give such a citation.

Since then the activists have been spared direct harassment, and the membership in the League of Young Democrats—after a founding meeting in a Budapest theater that drew upwards of 500 youth—now numbers more than 1,000.

On June 20 the government finally kicked its 32-year leader downstairs and, at the same time, tried desperately to avoid any political reform that would dilute the party's power. Meanwhile, an array of independent political groups took advantage of the political vacuum created by the party's indecisiveness.

Independent street demonstrations have become a regular occurrence in Budapest. Environmentalists have marched to oppose a huge dam project on the Danube. People gathered to commemorate the exe-

cuted Prime Minister Imre Nagy. Bicyclists organized for bike lanes and against bus exhaust.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum draws a full house to its monthly symposiums that are held in the same theater where the youth meet. The Democratic Trade-Union of Scientific (intellectual) Workers quickly organized itself into an organization of more than 1,000 members. The more openly oppositional Network of Free Initiatives also gathered more than 1,000 signatories to its founding document.

The League of Young Democrats plans to hold its first national convention in October after the new academic year begins. League leaders promise the group will ratify a political program and deal with financial and organizational details. Though the founder/leaders are vague about what the program will be, there is a loose consensus among all the new independent groups on the need for: constitutional controls on the party, the right to agitate through interest groups, an independent mass media and, ultimately, a multi-party system and mixed-ownership economy.

It is still unclear if and how these new groups can work together to affect the national debate; Hungarians in general and youth in particular suffer a lack of political culture due to years of suppression of free expression. But the learning process is set in motion.

—Richard Branch

Westinghouse lays plans to dump 'hottest' waste ever

WEST VALLEY, N.Y.—From a neighboring hill, the cluster of drab industrial buildings 50 miles south of Buffalo resembles a handful of carelessly strewn children's blocks. But what takes place here is anything but child's play.

This is West Valley, where Westinghouse is mapping out the future of radioactive waste dumps. The company is developing systems to solidify 600,000 gallons of the "hottest" waste ever produced. The West Valley Pilot Project (WVPP) has spent \$270 million of a projected \$700 million budget to develop a furnace to melt "high-level" sludge into borosilicate glass and to develop a system for mixing "low-level" liquid with concrete for permanent burial in an on-site concrete bunker. The mixing process got rolling in May.

WVPP will be a model for up to 30 radioactive waste dumps that will open in the early '90s, as mandated by Congress, to ease the pressure on bulging stockpiles of military and commercial nuclear wastes.

WVPP seeks to refute arguments that the long-lived hazards of radioactive waste make nuclear power impractical. "Hopefully we can make nuclear power an option," says John Chamberlain, WVPP spokesman.

"They've been telling people

they've solved the 'radwaste' problem," says Carol Mongerson, a leading member of the Coalition on West Valley Nuclear Wastes. "What they've solved is the problem of turning liquid into solid."

The coalition was largely responsible for prodding the federal government into taking over management of the wastes after Getty Oil abandoned the site in 1976. The coalition is encouraged by Westinghouse's proven desire to work with them, but disheartened by WVPP's low-level "solution."

The project will entomb radioactive concrete in an "engineered mound" rated to last 500 years, until, by WVPP's projections, the waste will be rendered harmless by decay.

The coalition charges WVPP is ignoring longer-lived transuranics, man-made isotopes like plutonium and americium, present in the waste. "That stuff's not low-level," Mongerson says.

The WVPP's Chamberlain concedes "some" transuranics are present, but an insignificant amount. "In 500 years, you could drill a well into the waste and drink the water and not get a serious dose."

The coalition also rejects the policy of burying waste. "They have to guarantee it won't leak for half a millennium," Mongerson says. "They can't." After intensive research, the coalition is supporting the concept of above-ground retrievable storage. Until technology catches up with the

hazard, the coalition believes, it would be folly to do something too costly to correct.

"What's safe? Keep it retrievable and teach our children to watch it, our grandchildren and their grandchildren?" Mongerson asks.

Though the coalition was able to force the Department of Energy to consider the retrievable option, the plan was judged too costly.

Now Mongerson and the coalition just hope WVPP can complete their solidification task without a major accident. But a relatively minor accident in May, when the plant opened, has coalition members worried. The WVPP operators, after two years of training and numerous dry runs with simulated waste, had started their first "run" of wastes when someone apparently threw the wrong switch, bypassing the filtration system designed to remove 99.9 percent of the radioactivity.

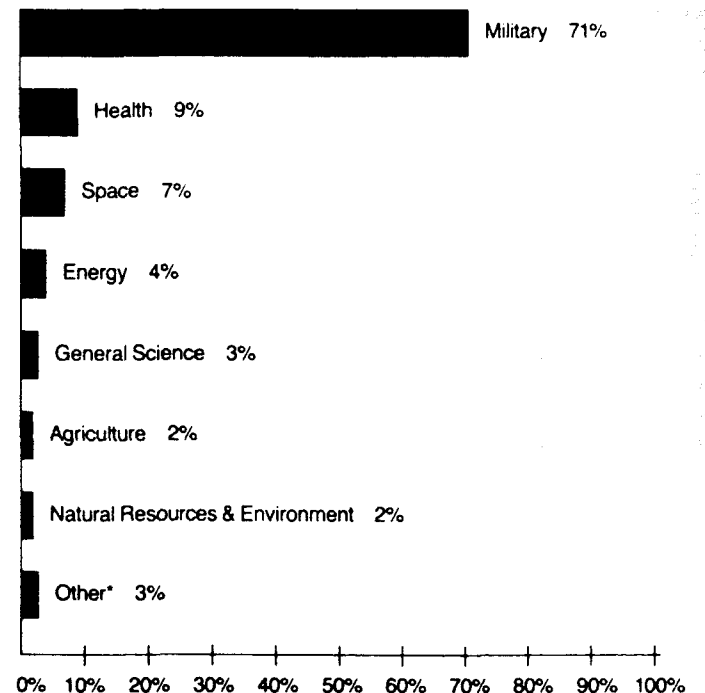
About two gallons of extremely "hot" liquid was pumped into the tank designed to hold cleaned waste. It was pumped back into the "hot" tank and the system was flushed out without a radiation release, but it brought Mongerson's most emphatic point home forcefully: "The nuclear industry wants to be able to go ahead and make money, so they try to demonstrate they can defeat the waste. They might be able to perfect the system, but how are they going to perfect the people?"

—Andrew Galarneau

partment. Mayor Sara Hendrick, Athens' first woman mayor, said the dismissal was based on recommendations from three fire captains, including one who had been the subject of sexual harassment charges Moon had earlier filed and then dropped. He said Moon was uncooperative and lacked initiative. But Moon, backed by several co-workers, said department officials had changed the testing process to insure her failure. Moon's union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Ohio Council, supported her claim. The union charged sexual discrimination and filed grievances with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, among others. Last month AFSCME announced that Moon had been rehired and awarded about \$8,000 in back pay, and AFSCME had dropped the complaints. Commenting on the case, Council 8 First Vice President William Endsley said, "Some people have asked why we're involved with Lori Moon's case, but I think the real question is why the labor movement isn't usually this involved in issues of sex discrimination. The fact is that if the city of Athens can get away with firing Lori Moon, then every woman and minority worker in Ohio is that much less safe from discrimination. We can't let that happen, and we won't."

Reagan's priorities unchanged

With homelessness, AIDS, the greenhouse effect and toxic wastes, among other things, destroying lives and devouring national resources, the Reagan administration hasn't lost its priorities. Of the federal money spent for research and development last year, more than 70 percent went to the military, according to an investigation by Jobs With Peace, a Boston-based advocacy group. Compare that to the less than 10 percent for medical research or the less than 1 percent divided among education and training, justice, labor, housing and other social services.



*Other includes Commerce (.5%), Transportation (.5%), International Affairs (.3%), Veteran's (.3%), and (.9%) divided among Education and Training, Labor, Justice, Housing and Urban Development, and other Social Services.

Source: Jobs With Peace

Peace group raided

Recently six U.S. Customs Service agents descended on the home of Leonard Cizweski. His apartment serves as headquarters of the Madison, Wis.-based Trade for Peace Inc., a company that has been openly violating the U.S. embargo on trade with Nicaragua. For two hours the agents searched Cizweski's home, confiscating financial records, some money and \$500 worth of contraband—uncancelled Nicaraguan stamps, tapestries, paintings and unroasted coffee beans—all imported illegally from Nicaragua. No charges have been filed against Trade for Peace Inc., nor has the government decided whether or not to prosecute. Mary Beth George of Trade for Peace Inc. is pleased that the government has at last reacted to her group's act of civil disobedience. Says George, "We hope the resulting attention will help inform the public that there is also an economic war going on against Nicaragua—as well as a military war—that it is as destructive or more so in terms of the long-range stability of Nicaragua."

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

WHEN LU PALMER ORGANIZED A 1982 convention here to select a black candidate to run in the 1983 mayoral election it generated little interest in Chicago's other neighborhoods. Congressman Harold Washington emerged as the convention's popular choice, and that solid base of black support proved essential in his election as the city's first black mayor. His sudden death last November, however, has left a vacuum that has sucked three probable black candidates into the race to succeed him.

Seeking to repeat the process that resulted in Washington's election and fearing that the current division in the black community would allow a white candidate to regain the

RACE

mayoral seat, Palmer again has organized a "black plebiscite committee" to choose a single black candidate. This time, however, the process has provoked an avalanche of criticism.

Editorials in the city's major publications, leaders of various ethnic communities and



Chicago's Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer

even those whites and Hispanics who supported the late mayor have condemned Palmer's plebiscite idea as a step backward for the city. Many have called it racist.

The criticism has been so fierce that two of the three probable black candidates decided to distance themselves from the process. At the committee's opening convention late last month, Alderman Danny Davis was the only candidate to appear. Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer and Alderman Timothy Evans, the other two blacks expected to run, were both scheduled to address the convention, but both declined on the grounds that the convention was too exclusive.

The extent and vehemence of the criticism took Palmer by surprise. "I can't understand what all the uproar is about," he said. "It seems clear to me that if black people want to know what's on the mind of the black community, they wouldn't ask for opinions from non-black people. If [Illinois Rep. William] Lipinski and [Alderman Roman] Pucinski wanted to gauge the opinions of the Polish community on who should be a Polish candidate, for example, I certainly wouldn't expect them to invite blacks to the meeting."

Two too many: Sawyer has remained unpopular in the black community since he was elected by the city council last December 2 to serve as acting mayor. His ascension was engineered in a contentious, all-night session by an alliance of machine blacks and many of the same white aldermen

Winds of change blow on Chicago's black coalition

who had adamantly opposed Washington's every move. Although he continues to trail in the polls, the power of the incumbency has begun to raise his profile in the black community, and he inspires considerably less antipathy in white ethnic neighborhoods than Washington did.

As the late mayor's floor leader, Evans was a visible spokesman for the reform coalition that formed the core of Washington's support, and he was their preferred mayoral choice on that fateful night of the city council election. He has retained much of that support; although he has yet to formally announce his candidacy, Evans leads the other two candidates in the most recent polls. There is some evidence, however, that his reluctance to declare is disenchanting some supporters.

Davis, whose west side constituency is somewhat removed from the south side power base that nourishes most of the city's black politicians, is an independent who was a strong supporter of Washington's reform agenda. He is an eloquent speaker and is generally regarded as the most intellectually able of the three candidates. Like Washington, he attracts the support of ideological opposites; many of the city's fabled "lakefront liberals" incline toward Davis, yet he gets good reviews from the influential black nationalist community.

Segregated city: While the other two candidates discredited the plebiscite convention as an exclusionary exercise, Davis praised it as an attempt to empower the black community from the grass-roots up. "To charge that this meeting is separatist is to miss the point," Davis said. "We live in a segregated society, and Chicago is one of this country's most segregated cities. The average black person in this city goes to an all-black school and church."

"And even the jails in Chicago are virtually all black," he added. "Why should there be a lot of criticism about a meeting that addresses the concerns of this segregated population?"

Both Davis and Evans refer to themselves as progressives. Both are vigorously seeking support from the Jewish community that, unlike whites of any other group, gave Washington a plurality of their votes. The problems between Jews and blacks remain a powerful subtext in Chicago's current political struggle. Although tensions have eased somewhat from earlier this year when it was revealed that a Sawyer aide had a fondness for anti-Jewish rhetoric (see *In These Times*, May 25), anger remains on both sides.

"It looks like Evans is being unduly influenced by the Jewish community," said George "G'Ra" Hinds, a keen local political observer and well-known jazz poet. "I used to support him, but his absence at the plebiscite convention is showing me that he lacks the backbone to speak up for the black community in the face of Jewish opposition."

Although it wasn't widely known, Washington was consistently berated by some blacks for the good relations he maintained with the Jewish community and for his read-

iness to appoint Jews to key city posts. "Many of us thought that Washington responded too much to Jews, particularly Jews in Hyde Park [an affluent south side neighborhood]," Palmer noted. In fact, one reason black aldermen joined with anti-Washington whites to prevent Evans from becoming acting mayor was to curb Jewish influence in city hall, one of those aldermen revealed to *In These Times*.

Coalition's end? While the African-American community engages in the debate about who's the best-qualified black candidate, other parts of the coalition Washington cultivated are wondering where they fit in. The left-liberal whites who supported Washington are watching events in the black community with some trepidation.

Many of them share the concerns publicized by the Committee on Decent Unbiased Campaign Tactics (CONDUCT), a group formed in 1986 to monitor the racial rhetoric of mayoral candidates. The group, composed of several individuals with distinguished records in the civil rights field, charged the plebiscite convention was "deeply divisive" and "racist."

CONDUCT's Executive Director John McDermott said it was a grave mistake for blacks "to organize a political screening process strictly on the basis of race and to evaluate racial identity above all other issues, policies and questions of a candidate's qualifications, experience and merit."

Other groups have expressed similar feelings. "The Evans, Sawyer and Davis camps talk about who should be the next black can-

While Chicago's African-American community engages in contentious debate about how to pick the best-qualified black candidate, other segments of late-Mayor Harold Washington's coalition are wondering where they fit in.

didate and the next black mayor of Chicago instead of talking about who can best fulfill the legacy of Harold Washington," said Alderman Luis Gutierrez, a staunch Washington ally who helped the late mayor poll an overwhelming majority of Puerto Rican votes.

"But all of this talk about blackness is eating away at the fiber that kept the coalition together. Hispanics feel isolated and ignored," he added. "And many of them are angry."

Limits of blackness: The problems highlighted by this tortuous process of political empowerment illustrate the dilemma facing African-Americans as they attempt to solid-

ify and expand on their political gains of the last decade. Most of the progress made by blacks in the political realm has occurred in areas where they hold a voting majority. Once restrictive racial covenants were outlawed, blacks finally were able to take full advantage of their numerical superiority in different parts of the country.

Consequently, the level of black elected officials skyrocketed as political reality became a more accurate reflection of demographic reality. But now that most areas with black voting majorities are already represented by black elected officials, any expansion in political power must come by way of coalition politics. But whites remain reluctant, by and large, to vote for black candidates; hence the dilemma.

While blacks must firm up their own electoral base, such an emphasis on racial bloc voting may alienate other groups whose votes are crucial for a successful candidacy. On the other hand, it's quite likely that a black candidate can do nothing to attract significant white support.

For blacks in this notoriously segregated city, the dilemma is even more acute. And so far, no white candidate has declared an intent to run. In addition to lending a sense of uncertainty to election speculation, the lack of a white challenger leaves the black community without a demon.

Washington's tenure was shadowed by willing demons like Alderman Edward Vrdolyak, Park Superintendent Edmund Kelly and Alderman Edward Burke (the infamous "Three Eddies"), and the late mayor's skillful use of them kept Washington's constituents in a state of constant political agitation. One of those Eddies (Vrdolyak) is now a Republican, and the two who remain nominal Democrats are keeping suspiciously low profiles.

Most knowledgeable observers believe that Burke will mount a challenge in the Democratic primary and that another former Democrat, Republican Sheriff James O'Grady, will run in the general election. But so far, those plans are being kept close to the chest.

When to elect? Compounding the confusion about candidates is a dispute over the date of the next election. The Illinois Supreme Court will soon rule on a lawsuit that challenges a lower court decision allowing the primary in February and the general election next April. The suit argues that Sawyer should complete the remainder of Washington's four-year term until the next regularly scheduled election in 1991.

The Evans camp would prefer the lower court ruling to stand. Sawyer and his supporters want it overruled so they can utilize the power of incumbency to better his image and bolster his war chest. Rev. Willie Barrow, the national director of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH and an influential player in the city's black community, also came out in favor of a 1991 election. Her position was widely interpreted as a pro-Sawyer maneuver, and she was roundly excoriated by most of the city's black leadership. Jackson quickly made it clear that Barrow did not speak for him or for PUSH, adding that he favors a 1989 election.

"I have never seen our community so torn and so pulled apart as it is now," Barrow said in explaining her position on the election. "We're still mourning Harold Washington, our great, legendary mayor, and we need time to heal our wounds." □

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MOST DISCUSSION ABOUT THE ECONOMY concerns the rate of unemployment, inflation and the rise or fall of the stock market. This pressing question, however, is rarely addressed: can American manufacturers compete in a highly integrated global marketplace? Whether they can do this depends on whether the U.S. can compete in high-tech electronics—the part of modern industry that drives all others.

In the '90s, this will depend on whether the U.S. can effectively produce computer chips and high-definition television. Computer chips have often been described as the oil of the modern electronic revolution. These flat-backed creatures with spidery legs plug into the circuit board of computers, video cassette recorders, automobiles, clocks and cameras. They store and translate electric impulses into numbers, words, pictures and sounds.

High-definition television, dubbed HDTV, provides a far clearer, more detailed image than is possible on the present generation of televisions. Industry analyst Pat Choate says that HDTV "will be to television what color was to black and white." During the '90s, he predicts, it will drive technological growth in the same way that the personal computer and the videocassette recorder did during the '70s and '80s. And it will consume a preponderate share of new multi-megabit chips. (The amount of information a chip can store is measured in "bits." Where five years ago 64K chips that stored 64,000 bits were common, one-megabit chips are now used in computers and VCRs.)

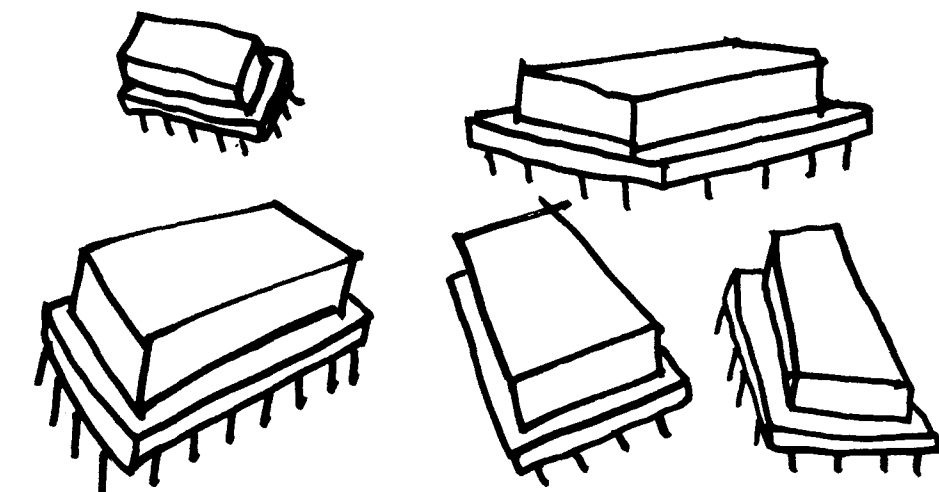
The computer chip and HDTV could prove as important to the advanced industrial economies of the '90s as oil and the automobile were to the economies of the '50s. Indeed, chips may be more important than oil was in the '50s because chip production is the prototype of modern automated manufacturing. The lessons learned in producing chips apply to all other areas of manufacturing—from steel to synthetics.

But the outlook for an American role in either chip production or HDTV is bleak. Since 1982 the American share of the world chip market has fallen steadily from 56.7 to 41.2 percent, while the Japanese share has risen from 32.5 to 45.5 percent—a 40 percent increase in market share. Japan now controls 90 percent of the market for dynamic random access memory chips (DRAMs), the basic chips that go into computers, VCRs and televisions.

The U.S. has virtually shut itself out of HDTV production. Zenith, the last domestic TV producer, is now trying to find a foreign buyer for its consumer electronics division. While Japanese companies have already invested \$500 million and Western European ones \$200 million in HDTV, American firms have invested \$100 million. Japanese companies are already selling HDTVs; the U.S. has produced none.

In the last three years, electronics industry executives and a few saner heads in the Reagan administration have begun to join Harvard's Robert Reich and MIT's Charles Ferguson in warning that the U.S. is in danger of becoming an industrial Bangladesh. As a result, both the industry and the Reagan administration have undertaken important initiatives on trade and research and development.

But these initiatives are being undercut by struggles within the electronics industry



The problem with letting chips fall where they may

and by a new wave of laissez-faire economic ideology. A debate is now raging within the industry and among policy-makers that is far more important than the current imbroglios over the Pledge of Allegiance and Panamanian drug-running.

Trade initiatives: In the early '80s Silicon Valley entrepreneurs were the most adamant foes of government economic intervention, but in August 1985 the Semiconductor Industry Association (SIA) and Micron Technology asked the federal government for protection against Japanese chipmakers. In its complaint, the SIA convincingly argued that Japanese firms were "dumping" chips in the U.S. market—selling them below cost in order to drive out competitors—while continuing to restrict American access to the lucrative Japanese market.

The International Trade Commission and the Commerce Department both upheld the SIA's complaint, but the Reagan administration dallied for almost a year. What finally stirred the administration to act was the threat of congressional action and a report from its own Defense Science Board warning that the collapse of the American semiconductor industry posed a national security threat. Finally, in April 1987 the administration imposed punitive duties on some Japanese imports and set a "fair market value" for Japanese chip prices in the U.S., based on the chips' costs of production. On national security grounds, the administration also vetoed an attempt by the Fujitsu Corporation to purchase Fairchild Semiconductor. These were unprecedented steps for an administration dogmatically committed to Adam Smith's free-market doctrine.

The administration's trade offensive appears to have been a success. By the time the administration acted last year only two American firms were still producing DRAMs for the open market—Texas Instruments and Micron Technology. (IBM produces its own chips, but does not sell them.) Both of these firms were on the rocks. In 1986 Texas Instruments had lost \$119 million. The smaller Micron Technology had lost a total of \$56.8 million that same year and in early 1987. At the time, industry analysts predicted the imminent demise of the industry.

But once the Japanese stopped dumping their chips, both firms went into the black. Texas Instruments made \$308 million in 1987. Moreover, it used its returns to invest in a new manufacturing process that could put it ahead of the Japanese in the production of four megabit chips. Micron reported \$25.4 million in profits for the first half of 1988.

Moreover, firms that had gotten out of the industry are now getting back in. Motorola is again producing DRAMs, and National Semiconductor is considering doing so. The U.S. still trails Japan in DRAM production, but the industry is coming alive again.

In November 1986 the SIA took an equally significant step. It began planning a consortium that would develop the manufacturing

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

techniques for the next generation of computer chips. SIA's initial proposal met with skepticism in Washington, but the Reagan administration became interested after the Defense Science Board Report. And in spring the Pentagon pledged \$100 million to start up the venture.

Called Sematech, the consortium will be jointly funded by government and industry and will pool its findings among its member companies. Funded by 14 semiconductor firms, it will be located in Austin, Texas. It will have an annual budget of \$250 million, of which \$100 million will come from the Pentagon. Both its top management and its engineers will come from member companies. And the venture itself will be exempted from anti-trust prosecution.

Spurred on by Sematech's example, there are now stirrings within the American Electronics Association to set up a consortium that would help the U.S. develop a HDTV industry. At a conference last June sponsored by Rebuild America, a Washington policy group, several top executives endorsed an industry-government venture. Richard Elkus, chairman of the Prometrix Corporation and developer of the first videocassette recorder, called for a "national industrial

The computer chip and high-definition TV could be as key to the advanced industrial economies of the '90s as oil and cars were to the economies of the '50s. A laissez-faire U.S. economic ideology about advanced technology could be disastrous.

strategy."

Conservative counterattack: The electronic executives' turn toward industrial policy is now being threatened by developments within the computer marketplace. In the aftermath of the administration trade measures against Japanese chip producers, chip prices have risen precipitously. The trade bill, by preventing dumping, was partly responsible for the rise in prices. But those prices have far exceeded the fair market value set by the Reagan administration.

This suggests that the price rise was more the result of two other factors: increased demand from a new generation of memory-hungry computers and an unexpected delay in the production of one megabit chips, which were to take the place of an older generation of 256K chips. But computer makers and computer consumers, suffering the first price increase since personal computers were introduced in 1981, have been quick to blame the Reagan trade agreement.

Computer makers have organized a Semiconductor User Producer Group to pressure the Reagan administration to change, if not abandon, the agreement with the Japanese. The group's effort, former Commerce Department Clyde Prestowitz warned industry journal *PC Week*, "will tend to perpetuate Japanese dominance of the semiconductor industry."

Computer columnists and editors, many of whom were raised on the romantic entrepreneurialism of Silicon Valley, have also taken the offensive against the trade measures. In the September issue of *PC Computing*, *Wall Street Journal* economics reporter Alan Murray charges that the benefits from the administration's trade bill "have been outweighed by the huge costs imposed on consumers and the computer industry nationwide."

Conservative intellectuals have begun to assail the Reagan administration's foray into industrial policy. In a forthcoming book, *Microcosm*, George Gilder, who helped popularize supply-side economics, attacks the "vocal Cassandras" who are urging "harassment of Japan and Korea and protection of U.S. chipmakers." In excerpts published recently in *Forbes* and *Harvard Business Review*, Gilder suggests that the computer industry's success has been the result of its fragmentation and entrepreneurialism, and argues that government intervention and industry consolidation will speed its decline.

Responding in the May-June *Harvard Business Review*, Charles Ferguson dismisses Gilder's argument. Ferguson argues convincingly that the Japanese succeeded in chip production because their industry was dominated by a few large firms that worked closely with the government. These firms commanded enormous amounts of capital and resisted stockholder demands for quick profits. American decline was the result, Ferguson argues, of "fragmentation, instability and entrepreneurialism."

If the U.S. wants to compete, Ferguson writes, "faith in the market must give way to a more sophisticated view of strategic behavior, of the incentive effects of government action and of the relationships among technology, management and industry performance."

Not only the canons of logic but also historical trends appear to favor Ferguson's argument. Yet no one should underestimate the power of conservative doctrine, particularly when its appeal seems buttressed by rising prices and falling profits. □

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 14-20, 1988 7

By Stephen J. Simurda

WINCHENDON, MASS.

SINCE JOSE RAMOS FLED THE CIVIL WAR IN HIS native El Salvador he has travelled far. First he entered the U.S. illegally through Mexico last November, only to be captured and detained by U.S. immigration officers near the border town of Los Frenos in southern Texas.

The story might have ended with Ramos' deportation, if not for the efforts of a pair of church groups that posted a \$3,000 bond to gain his release, put him on a bus to Georgia and helped him apply for refugee status in Canada through that nation's consulate in Atlanta.

From there, Ramos was sent in April to a small farm in this central Massachusetts town about 50 miles west of Boston, where he passes his time by stacking wood and helping with other chores. He hopes any day to receive word that he can enter Canada legally and begin his life again.

The Canadian connection: Jose Ramos (who asked that his real name not be used out of his concern for family members still in El Salvador) is not alone. Since 1983 the two church groups that aided him have helped more than 1,000 refugees, mostly from El Salvador and Guatemala, to gain legal refugee status in Canada. Most arrived under the sponsorship of the Canadian government after their applications for political asylum in the U.S. were turned down. As government-sponsored refugees in Canada they receive housing, financial assistance and English lessons for one year. By contrast, in the U.S. few could ever hold any hope of gaining legal status or receiving government benefits.

The refugees left their countries for a variety of reasons, all stemming from a fear of political or religious persecution. Ramos, 36, worked as a foreman on a large farm in eastern El Salvador and watched for a decade as war divided his homeland. He says he fled because it was becoming more difficult to remain neutral in the longstanding dispute.

"In my village, everyone that lives there is serving either side, with the guerrillas or the government," he explains. "I didn't want to live like that." Ramos says pressure to take one of the sides in the war is strong and making a commitment to either side brings risks. "If you take one side, the other wants to get you.... In El Salvador there always exists a system of hate," he said.

When he was captured in Texas, a couple working with the Overground Railroad, a ministry of the Riba Place Church in Evanston, Ill., interviewed Ramos in the detention facility and decided he was a good candidate for legal status in Canada.

The Riba Place Church is a Mennonite congregation that includes about 100 members who live communally in church-owned houses or apartments, and another 200 parishioners living outside the community. Started in 1957, the church began operating the Overground Railroad in 1983, the same year that Canada started a stepped-up quota system for accepting Latin American refugees.

David Janzen, who took over as coordinator of the railroad in 1984, says that most Central Americans who reach the U.S. illegally are afraid, have no money and, if caught, face almost certain deportation back to hostilities in their native country.

"People who were fleeing for their lives were being deported," said Janzen in explaining why the Overground Railroad was begun. The group's work is "a way of reaching out

Overground Railroad's slow train to sanctuary

compassionately to those who need safe haven," said Janzen.

But the Overground Railroad is also a way of creatively working within the system to find safe, permanent homes for those who choose to flee persecution in their own countries, even as U.S. immigration policy continues to exclude these people.

Here's how it works: The couple living in Texas operates as the church's screening agents for the thousands of illegal aliens captured by U.S. authorities. They interviewed Ramos in late 1987 and concluded that he was an unlikely candidate for political asylum in the U.S., but had a good chance of being admitted to Canada, which has a more liberal interpretation of persecution.

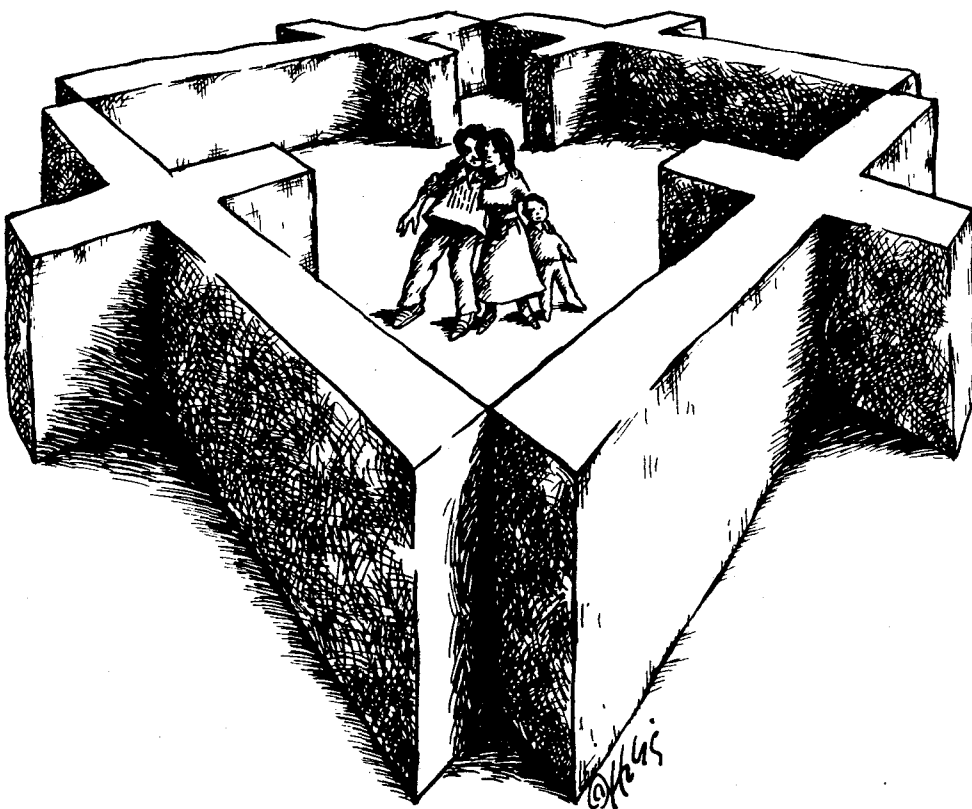
After the interview, the Overground Railroad joins forces with an ecumenical group called Jubilee Partners of Comer, Ga., a community of 17 people of various Christian denominations who operate a handful of ministries aimed at helping the disadvantaged. The two groups first teamed up in 1983, when each was independently exploring the possibility of helping refugees. The Overground Railroad handles the screening and housing network, while Jubilee Partners facilitates the applications to Canada.

Unlike applying for political asylum, which occurs when someone is already in a country illegally, the Central Americans trying to get to Canada must apply for refugee status, claiming political persecution.

Ramos, along with a busload of fellow refugees, arrived in Georgia in January and applied for legal status to the Canadian Consulate in Atlanta. His application was accepted pending medical approval and clearance by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. At that point, he was sent to the small Massachusetts farm where he now lives.

IMMIGRATION

The farm, owned by a Boston-based soup kitchen affiliated with the Catholic Worker Movement, is one of some 120 temporary housing sites across most of the U.S. that have made themselves available to the Overground Railroad. Most are religiously affiliated, generally in homes of members of a church's congregation, and grew out of a desire by the various churches to do something to help those fleeing civil war and persecution. Many believe the U.S. government is not doing enough.



The Overground Railroad is a way of creatively working within the system to find safe, permanent homes for those who choose to flee persecution in their own countries.

"What we're doing is a reflection of what they (the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service) should be doing," says Terry Conway, director of host church programs for Jubilee Partners.

Statistics provided by the INS show that only about 5 percent of Salvadorans who apply are granted political asylum, and even fewer Guatemalans are successful. By contrast, the Overground Railroad and Jubilee Partners report a 95 percent success rate with their applications to Canada.

And unlike the Underground Railroad created during the days of slavery, or the sanctuary movement, which houses refugees illegally in this country, the Overground Railroad works within the system and is completely legal. The method has gained the respect of Canadian officials.

Jim Metcalfe, until recently the Canadian Consul in Atlanta, says, "I admire their altruism.... They're trying to help the tide of human misery that's flowing out of Central America."

And the interviewing done by the groups to select good candidates makes things easier for Metcalfe, who must help administer quota programs for Central American refugees. "We couldn't do it without them," he said. "They make the first cut, so to speak."

Denys Tessier, spokesman for Canada's Department of External Affairs, says the quota for Latin American refugees in Canada this year is 3,400. Based on past years, he explains, the vast majority of those will be from El Salvador. In contrast, the U.S. granted political asylum to only 39 Salvadorans in 1987, according to INS spokesman Duke Austin.

Two interpretations: Conway says that while her group works effectively with the Canadian government, things aren't always so chummy with the U.S. immigration officials. "The INS does not look on us in a favorable manner," she says. Preferring to avoid direct criticism of U.S. policy, Conway says the difference between the two countries' approach to refugees is that "the U.S. is interpreting the well-founded fear of persecution in a whole different way" than Canada.

Those familiar with the process say refugees must build a strong case to be accepted into the U.S. This is difficult for those who have little money, no English skills and are not familiar with the U.S. legal system.

Although Metcalfe makes it clear he's "not going to criticize U.S. policy" on refugees, he does praise his nation's reputation in helping those fleeing persecution. "Canada is, I guess, an honest broker. We've had a long history of helping refugees resettle in Canada," Metcalfe says. It's a history that has put distance between the U.S. and Canada before, especially during the Vietnam War, when Canada accepted hundreds of American draft resisters.

Ramos, meanwhile, waits for the call that will inform him that his new home is ready. He's been told he will probably be sent to Toronto and hopes to work in the construction trades.

"I don't know what life will be like in Canada," he admits. With only three years of formal education, virtually no English skills and little work experience other than growing sugar cane and oranges, Toronto could be a daunting place. But Jose Ramos believes it's a lot less daunting than the thought of returning to the ongoing civil war in his country. □

Stephen J. Simurda is a freelance writer who lives in Hadley, Mass.

By Diana Johnstone

FOR AN EXCITING CLIMAX AT THE RAMSTEIN Air Show in West Germany on August 28, the daredevil Italian Air Force group *Frecce Tricolori* (Tricolor Arrows) dove at each other over the heads of the crowd. Two groups came tearing down out of the sky from opposite directions and a third single pilot looped from the side into the center of their point of convergence. They were all supposed to just barely miss each other in one thrilling roar.

But this time the illusion of collision turned into the real thing. The single plane struck two others, sending them crashing into nearby fields, itself exploded and rolled into the crowd like a fireball. Spectators, hot-dog stands, cars burst into flames. Thirty-nine people died that day. In the days that followed more continued to die out of the 360 that lay hospitalized, some so badly burned they could not be identified.

Most of the victims were German civilians, part of the crowd of hundreds of thousands attending the annual show put on by the big U.S. Air Base at Ramstein to show the people how wonderfully they are being protected by NATO.

After the Ramstein disaster, reassuring comments were heard from officials in the U.S., Britain and France that such a dangerous stunt, with a plane heading down toward the crowd of spectators, would never have been allowed in the U.S., Britain or France, where (the officials said) air shows are safe.

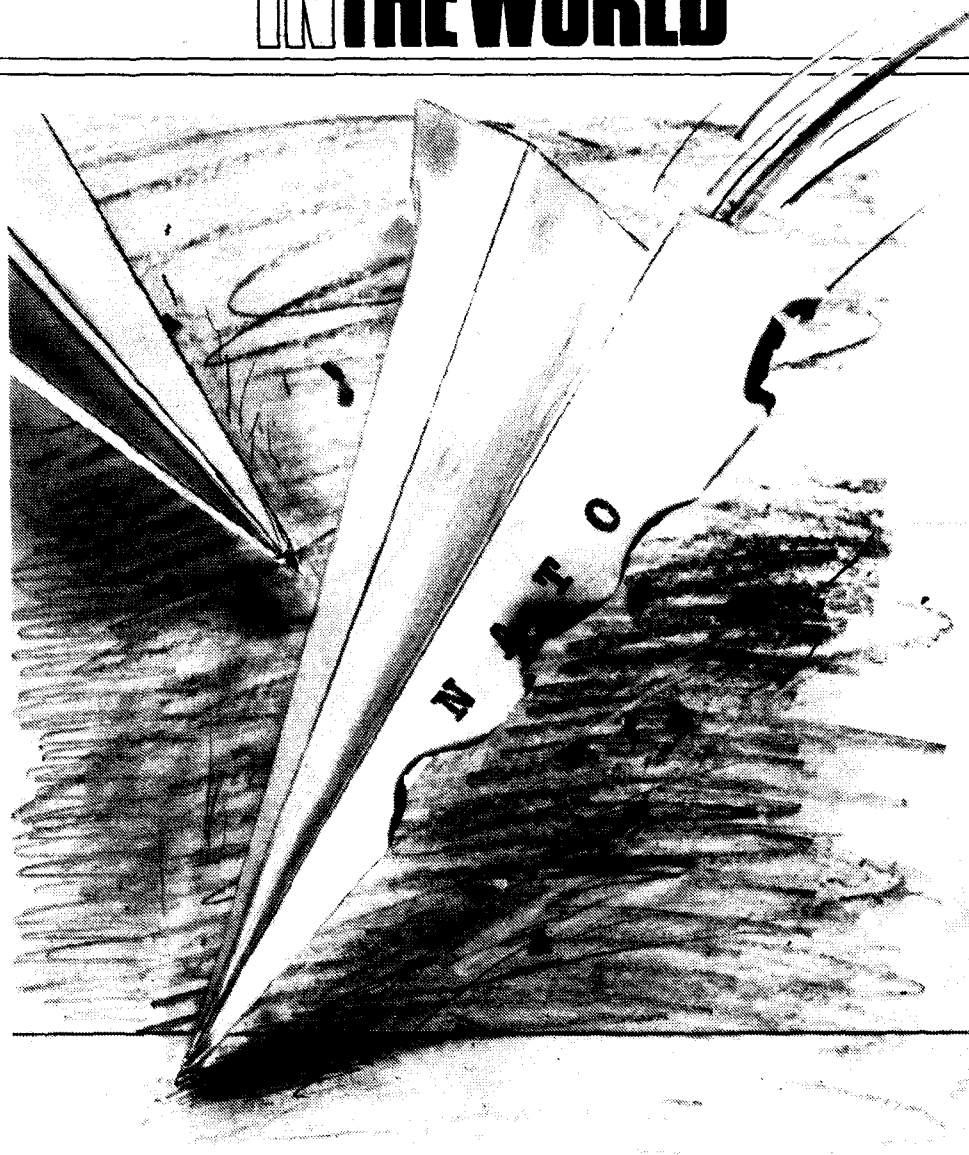
Dying for thrills: There is growing concern about the danger to densely populated Germany not only from air shows, but also from the uneasy coexistence between increasingly dense civilian and military air traffic. Moreover, local citizens are getting more and more fed up with the noise from constant military training flights, especially in the state of Rhineland-Palatine, where Ramstein is only one of a dozen U.S. Army and Air Force installations in the Kaiserslautern Military Community—which, with 56,000 U.S. military personnel and their dependents, proudly calls itself the “biggest community of Americans outside the U.S.”

Protestant church leaders had urged parishioners not to attend a show that “glorifies engines of war.” Members of the Social Democratic and Green Parties had opposed the Ramstein air show as dangerous.

But it is unclear how the Bonn government could ban or even regulate such an event. The NATO troop status agreements allow the U.S. free movement in and over the Federal Republic of Germany in connection with “official duties.” This includes air shows, former Defense Minister and current NATO General Secretary Manfred Wörner said in 1983.

At a press conference after the disaster, flanked by Defense Minister Rupert Scholz and U.S. Ambassador Richard Burt, NATO Commander in Chief Gen. John Galvin stressed that air shows are “much too important for us to give up.”

Air shows are indeed precious public relations. They nourish that readiness to die for thrills on which war depends. A video of the Ramstein show, including shots of the disastrous crash, immediately went on sale complete with the commentary prepared in advance that proclaimed: “Ramstein, the Mecca of fighter plane enthusiasts, was really worth the trip this year. The program surpassed all expectations.”



c 1988 Peter Hannan

Crash course in NATO flying hits Germany hard

If the Ramstein show in fact included a flight routine that would have been prohibited as too dangerous to spectators in France, Britain or the U.S., the responsibility lies solely with the U.S. Air Force that organized the event. In fact, the West German Armed Forces banned stunt flying after a fatal training accident in 1962.

Gen. Galvin's way of handling the situation was to exude patriotic American self-satisfaction. Asked whether the air show hadn't created “more ill will than good will,” the NATO commander answered: “What we ex-

EUROPE

press and what we feel is good will. And I am proud to say that this is a typical American characteristic.” He was also proud of the Americans at the U.S. hospital at Landstuhl: “heroes,” Gen. Galvin called them.

As usual, American officers, diplomats and media were blissfully unaware of how they looked to the natives.

Echoes of Vietnam: Germans described the American rescue work as “total confusion” and “catastrophic.” Accidents are known to happen at U.S. air shows in West Germany, yet there was no serious preparation to deal with an emergency. It took the first ambulance 40 minutes to get in because the entrance was clogged with parked cars. U.S. military rescue teams came in with simple stretchers and no reanimation equipment.

German doctor Peter Wresch told the weekly *Der Spiegel* that “the Americans have a completely different concept of rescue care than we do.” The Americans followed a “Viet-

nam strategy,” as if they were “under enemy fire,” of heaving everybody into helicopters or ambulances and rushing off, without administering any medical treatment on the spot.

Once in the helicopters, they didn't know where to go. Burn patients were dropped off at a number of hospitals—but not the ones best equipped to deal with severe burns. There are several such hospitals in West Germany, of top quality. Hearing of the accident, they immediately got ready to receive victims. Their calls to Ramstein were not answered.

Dr. Rolf Hettich of the city of Aachen complained to *Der Spiegel* that the American helicopters “flew around wildly and dumped their patients just anywhere.” Dr. Gerald Spilker, who heads West Germany's largest center for treating burn patients, said that the U.S. reaction to the many offers of help

German observers described the American rescue work at last month's air-show crash as “catastrophic.” That foul-up illustrates just how much the U.S. Armed Forces remain outside the country they've been occupying for 43 years.

from specialists all over Germany had been “zero.”

Officials defended the first aid by stressing that victims were all in hospitals in less than two hours after the disaster. But this was beside the point, said Dr. Spilker, since with burn victims what counts is immediate fluid replacement. Otherwise organs break down. Instead, badly burned people were transported without first aid to hospitals unequipped to administer appropriate treatment.

The rescue foul-up illustrates just how much the U.S. Armed Forces remain outside the country they've been occupying for 43 years.

Anyway, they were sure it wasn't their fault. The *Frecce Tricolori* were Italian, the Americans stressed. Contradicting Wörner's earlier statement, Defense Minister Rupert Scholz said that “artistic” flight numbers were not “official duties” and would be banned from now on. By concentrating blame on “artistic” flights, said watchful Green Bundestag member Alfred Mechtersheimer, Scholz was trying to deflect criticism from low flying—a regular nuisance and a daily hazard to the well-being of West German citizens.

Unfriendly skies: The growing number of military aviation accidents in West Germany, including two recent crashes near nuclear power plants, have inspired growing complaints about the noise and danger resulting from the constant use of West Germany's narrow, densely populated territory as a NATO pilot training ground. Pretending that they are evading radar in Eastern Europe, jets skim over tree and house tops, traumatizing small children and disrupting work and study. In late July the German federation of cities and towns formally invited NATO partners to train their pilots in their own countries.

To fend off criticism, Defense Minister Scholz announced that training flights would be cut by 1,000 hours per year. This was dismissed as a “joke” when compared to the 68,000 hours per year of military practice flights over West Germany. NATO allies fly much lower in Germany than they are allowed to in their own countries. This is because, under the agreements for NATO force status, the allies themselves and not the West German government set the rules.

Germans avoid saying so, but the concentration of NATO training flights—at altitudes much lower than allowed in neighboring countries—looks very much like a remnant of Germany's status as a occupied country.

Social Democratic Bundestag member Hermann Scheer called for negotiated East-West reduction of air forces as the way to solve the problem.

But the U.S. is refusing to negotiate air force reductions, advancing the spurious argument that only ground forces, like tanks, are capable of invasion and thus aggressive. In fact, the Pentagon is planning to follow up the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) accord with a buildup of air striking power.

For the first time, the state of Hesse is trying to oppose such a buildup by legal means. The U.S. Army's plan to station a large number of AH-64 “Apache” helicopters—36 this month and 181 by 1993—at a reactivated airfield at Erbenheim, near Wiesbaden, has aroused indignation in the state of Hesse. The airfield is close to Frankfurt's Main-Rhine airport, the busiest in Europe. Civilian flights over the Frankfurt area have in-

Continued on page 22

A SUMMER OF DISASTERS HAS ACCENTUATED the rapid conversion of Italy's radical left from red to green. In early July more than 100 leading Italian Greens meeting in Tuscany drove to the coastal town of Massa Carrara to press their demand to shut down the Farmoplant chemical factory there. Disgusted by the smell and afraid of pollution, 73 percent of the town's inhabitants voted in a referendum last October to close Farmoplant. But the unions protested that a shutdown would destroy jobs, experts pronounced the factory "99.99 percent sure" and the government stalled.

At 6:15 a.m. on July 17, the town of Massa was shaken by a deafening explosion. Fifty thousand liters of Rogor had exploded. Massa's inhabitants knew immediately where the big bang came from. About half the population of 65,000 piled into their cars, clogging nearby roads as they tried to flee. They were right to do so: it was later announced that the explosion had occurred only yards from a chemical that would have sent a potassium cyanide cloud over the town; Massa Carrara had barely missed being turned into "another Bhopal" with thousands of deaths.

More than nine miles of excellent nearby Mediterranean beach were closed due to chemical pollution. Vacationers fled. Tradespeople went.

The role of the radical left is always to sound the alarm. Fears are sometimes exaggerated, even paranoid. But sometimes shrill cries are necessary to break the routine leading toward even the most obvious disaster. Twenty years ago the fear was political: fear of an anti-communist military coup along the lines of the one in Athens in April 1967 that established the dictatorship of the Greek Colonels.

One incident crystallized these fears: the bomb that exploded on Dec. 12, 1969, in the

Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura in the Piazza Fontana in Milan, killing 16 people and injuring 88. It was the deadliest in a day of bombs in Milan and Rome. Police immediately accused anarchists. One of them, railroad employee Giuseppe "Pino" Pinelli, jumped, fell or was thrown out of a third-floor window at the Milan police station after three days of questioning. The unexplained "flight" of Pinelli became a *cause celebre* of

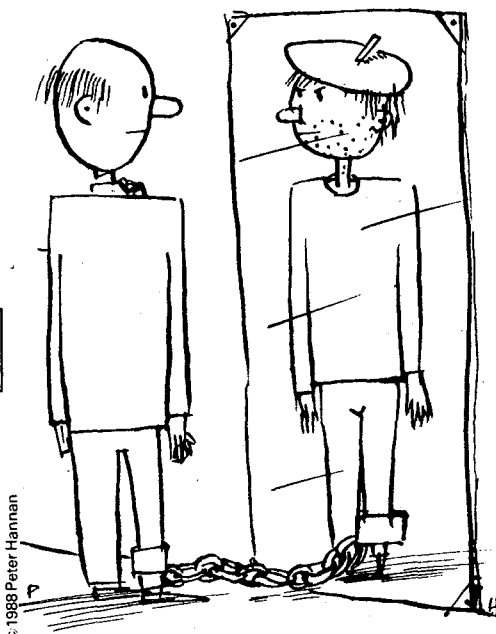
the Italian left. It inspired Dario Fo's play, *The Accidental Death of an Anarchist*.

Leftist journalists pointed to discrepancies in the accusations against the anarchists and gradually found a counter hypothesis, eventually accepted by investigators and a majority of public opinion. Anarchists had been framed for the Piazza Fontana bombing as part of the “strategy of tension.” The crime was actually committed by fascists in cahoots with conspirators in the secret police. The idea was to create the impression of violent disorder caused by the “two extremes,” rightist and leftist, in order to persuade the armed forces that it was their duty to restore order. The resulting “strong” but ostensibly “middle-of-the-road” government would suppress the far left, the labor unions, the Italian Communist Party and even the Socialist Party—presumably with secret consent or even encouragement from the CIA and NATO.

Long ago and far away: The Italian extreme left scarcely exists anymore as such. Its last surviving party, Democrazia Proletaria, tries to rival the new Green Party electoral list (*Lista Verde*) in stressing ecological issues. The disastrous adventure of "armed struggle" by the Red Brigades and other gun-toting groups long since scattered most of the former far left away from intense political commitment into less dramatic careers and artistic pursuits.

Today it is strange to recall and hard to explain the mood of those times. But this summer the flashback was suddenly imposed on reluctant veterans of Lotta Continua (constant struggle, LC). Born in the encounter between radicalized students and striking Fiat workers in 1969, LC was the largest and most characteristic of the radical movements that emerged from the '60s, inspired by the notion that the spontaneous revolutionary potential of the people was being held down by the institutionalized left, parties and labor unions. Shaken by its own women's revolt, LC dissolved itself in 1976.

Last July 27 police in Milan arrested Lotta Continua's most "charismatic" student leader, Adriano Sofri. Also arrested were three other old LC comrades, Giorgio Pietrostefani, Ovidio Bompreschi and Leonardo Marino. All four were charged with the May 17, 1972, killings of Luigi Calabresi, the police commissioner behind the unsolved defenestration of Giuseppe "Pino" Pinelli. The charges stemmed from Marino's spontaneous confession to



police, ostensibly motivated by remorse, that he and Bompreschi had carried out the murder of Calabresi on orders from Sofri and Pietrostefani. Sofri's many friends insist that this cannot be true.

An alternative hypothesis suggests a painful sort of class revenge. Well-educated Lotta Continua leaders like Sofri went on to fine careers. Sofri is a respected journalist, with many friends in high places. Pietrostefani is a business manager. Another former LC leader, Marco Boato, is now a senator on the Green List. Marino was a poor worker, who got fired from Fiat in the midst of the agitation. He has since worked as an ice cream street vendor. Marino's wife blames the LC leaders he adulated (he named his first son "Adriano" after Sofri) for their troubles and poverty. In a TV interview, she explained that she had not known until recently about the murder of Calabresi because Leonardo Marino is a "southern proletarian" who doesn't tell women what he is up to.

For years "repentant" terrorists have suggested in the course of their confessions that Lotta Continua was behind the unsolved murder of Calabresi. But this was based on hearsay. LC's newspaper *Lotta Continua* had led a campaign against Calabresi, the "CIA

commissioner," as responsible for Pinelli's death. Luigi Calabresi was in fact an active member of the very pro-American Italian Social Democratic Party (PSDI), formed by a CIA-inspired schism in the Socialist Party. He had been trained in the U.S. and had served as liaison between Barry Goldwater's military adviser and Italian military intelligence. His zealous questioning was reportedly notorious in the Milan police headquarters—notably his technique of balancing victims on the window ledge to make them nervous under questioning.

When Calabresi was assassinated, the less impetuous leftist daily *Il Manifesto* lamented that the killing would "block the process of

Times have changed: "We were certainly extremists," said Green Sen. Marco Boato after seven and a half hours of voluntary testimony on Lotta Continua's past to investigating judge Antonio Lombardi. "But the arms we used against Calabresi were cartoons, newspaper articles, our lawyers and the courtroom." Boato stressed that (unlike some other more structured leftist organizations of the period), Lotta Continua never had an illegal arm under orders of the leadership.

A former member of the *Lotta Continua* staff, Luigi Manconi, recalls proudly that the newspaper's investigation of the Piazza Fontana case and the death of Pinelli was pioneer work in the renewal of journalism in Italy.

At a meeting for Ovidio Bompressi in Bompressi's home town, Massa, another former LC national leader, Gianfranco Bolis, said he was convinced the four accused men did not kill Calabresi. Pressed by an interviewer for the weekly *Panorama*, Bolis acknowledged that he could not rule out the possibility that someone from Lotta Continua might have misinterpreted LC's position and "felt authorized, not by anyone in particular but by our political line," to murder Calabresi. But even in 1972, LC's leaders were trying to put the brakes on the trend toward violence. The arrest of Sofri and the others has brought back together the leaders of the organization that voluntarily dispersed in 1976, united in rejecting the accusations.

In other times there would have been a feverish effort to discern the political conspiracy behind the arrests. Questions would have been raised and answered: why Sofri? why now? who incited Marino to confess? But the struggle is not continuing.

Sofri complained that he was doubly a prisoner: in his cell and in a past he preferred to leave behind him. In a letter to the newspaper *Il Manifesto* he stressed his "firm intention to be an *apolitical* prisoner and to consider the magistrates *apolitical*." After all, somebody had confessed, the judges had to investigate. As time passed, however, he began to worry that the judges were developing a personal stake in his guilt. There is a melancholy in Sofri's self-defense that comes from deep reluctance to be drawn back into the type of struggle he abandoned more than 10 years ago. Like Boato and others, the issues that Sofri is most concerned about today are ecological. He has no more heart for the class struggle of his youth. He is searching for a cause to unite people for survival.

"Today, whoever wants to withdraw from religious or philosophical combats between groups of people finds grounds in the more pressing historic emergency: the threat of nuclear or ecological destruction," Sofri wrote in a literary article last year. "The causes of struggles between people have by no means receded; on the contrary, they have often sharpened. But in view of the threat to our very survival on Earth, in view of the need for a new sort of politics, they are more and more secondary." Here, he suggested, lies the deepest reason for the current crisis of the left and its eventual transformation. □

By Eileen Flanagan

HEBRON, OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

"I HAVE NEVER BEEN A POLITICAL PERSON," SAID the slender Palestinian doctor as he leaned forward in a chair at his West Bank home. "I always just took care of my family and my patients."

But that was before the violence of the Israeli occupation came crashing into his comfortable life last March.

He put down his cup of tea and folded his hands as he cautiously began to describe how he had been ambushed one night while driving with his young wife and their baby outside Hebron. Only 150 feet after passing an army checkpoint, they were stopped by armed Israeli settlers who hurled stones at their car. When the first stone smashed through the windshield, the doctor's wife leaned over to protect their child. Then a second, larger stone hit her squarely on the head.

The doctor accelerated past the settlers, steering with one hand as he pulled the screaming baby out from under his unconscious wife and the broken glass. As he pulled his wife's head back, he felt her wound through a blood-soaked scarf. He tried to put pressure on the spot with his right hand as he raced down the winding roads to the Hebron hospital.

After he finished telling *In These Times* his story, his wife handed him the baby and shyly removed her white head scarf to show her stitches. She described the severe headaches and nausea spells that still immobilized her several weeks after the incident.

"Now, after this thing..." concluded the doctor, his voice full of emotion, "and after seeing so many people wounded in the uprising... Next time the boys go down this street to throw stones at the soldiers, I just might go throw stones with them!"

"A year ago this man would never have talked about throwing stones," confided one of his colleagues after the interview. "He has always been very conservative."

Middle class gets mad: The fact that the doctor would say such things today shows the degree to which middle-class attitudes have changed since the beginning of the Palestinian uprising, or *intifada*, last December.

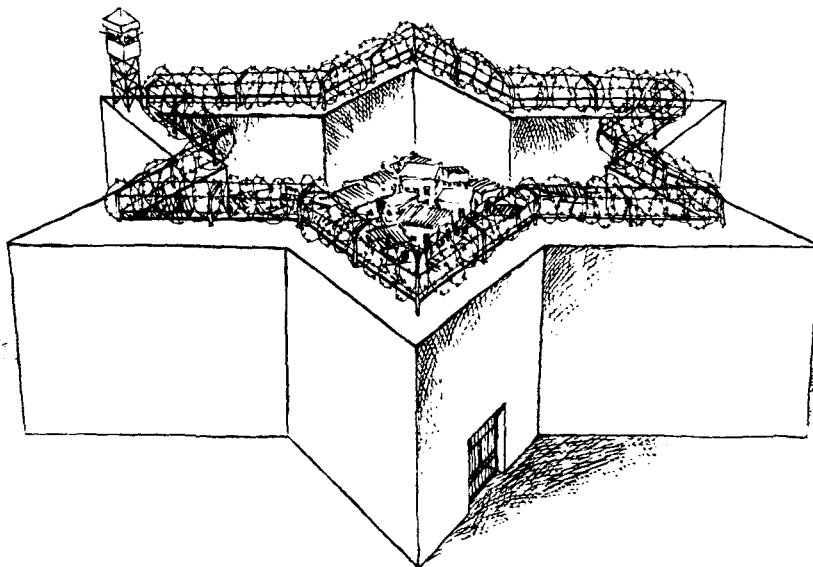
Many elements of the *intifada* are not new. There have been Palestinian demonstrations against the occupation since Israel first took control of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967. Palestinian resistance has always been met with beatings, shootings, tear gas and arrests. Vigilante violence between Israeli settlers and Palestinians is also nothing new. Nor is the Israeli army's tendency to side with the settlers.

What is new since the start of the uprising is the frequency of these events and the fact that *everyone* is now being affected by them. Even the smallest villages have demonstrations, and even the most conservative Palestinian businessmen observe the strikes called for by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

As the *intifada* enters its 10th month, there now seems to be widespread recognition (even by the Israeli government) that the situation can never be the same again. All segments of Palestinian society have become involved in the struggle. While the U.S. media focus on splits in the PLO leadership, the Palestinian people appear to be more united than they ever have before.

The radicalization of the Palestinian middle class has been an important factor in this change. Before the beginning of the *in-*

Bill Day



PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMP

Palestinian middle class opts to join the uprising

tifada many wealthy West Bankers supported the ideal of Palestinian statehood but were not prepared to go out and get shot fighting for it. In fact, they had an interest in maintaining stability.

Today, however, many doctors, lawyers and wealthy shop owners have joined their poorer neighbors in the refugee camps and are also willing to risk death or detention.

This change was produced, at least in part, by the Israeli military's brutal response to

THE MIDEAST

the uprising. Faced with a rebellion that it did not know how to handle, the army lashed out against the entire Palestinian population. As a result, it infuriated even the most conservative elements of Palestinian society.

In addition to the many forms of violence used against individual Palestinians, collective punishment is also common. The army routinely demolishes houses, often leaving large families homeless with little or no warning. Refugee camps, towns and villages are suddenly put under 24-hour-a-day curfews, and food, water and medical supplies can be blocked for weeks at a time.

However, these harsh measures have only maddened people further and made them more determined to resist. One striking example is the village of Idna, nestled in the hilly Hebron district.

Idna's indignation: Idna was a closed military zone for four weeks. From mid-May until mid-June no one was allowed in or out of the village, not even Red Cross officials, doctors and journalists. One American human rights observer who was refused entrance by the army noticed that on the other side of the military post the road was filled with stones, evidence that stone-throwing had continued in Idna despite the 24-hour-a-day curfew.

During the third week of the curfew, *In These Times* met a few residents of Idna who had snuck out of the village in the middle of the night. These Palestinian men had dodged the army patrols by climbing over the hills near the town in order to visit a nearby hospital where their injured relatives, three teen-age boys who had been shot at

demonstrations, were staying.

The men from Idna, ranging in age from 19 to 50, described how the Israeli army had cut off the village water and electricity and had confiscated all the tractors to prevent people from harvesting their crops. They also told of how the soldiers had gone from home to home destroying family food supplies in an effort to crush Palestinian resistance.

But it was clear from speaking to these people that the three-week siege had only strengthened their resolve. While many Palestinians from other villages were afraid that their names or photographs might reach Israeli military intelligence, the people from Idna seemed to have lost their fear. One of the injured teenagers exclaimed, "Go ahead, write down my name! Take my photograph! I'm already on their list, so it doesn't matter."

This growing attitude of defiance has been harnessed by the PLO through well-established committee structures and widely distributed pamphlets from the United National Leadership of the Uprising. Through the committees, Palestinian professionals are volunteering their services to the needy. Those in the medical profession have been particularly involved, teaching first aid after hours and selling medical supplies at cost

Class divisions within Palestinian society are being temporarily submerged in the interest of the national struggle. As one conservative doctor explained: "Next time the boys go down the street to throw stones at the soldiers, I just might throw stones with them!"

or at a loss.

Such involvement can be risky. Those giving first aid to the wounded at demonstrations are often shot at by the army, and ambulance drivers are routinely harassed and delayed on their way to the hospital.

Breaking class barriers: But while the current crisis is bringing rich and poor Palestinians together as never before, significant class differences remain. Refugees who lost their homes within Israel in 1948 have been landless ever since. As a result, refugees comprise much of the Palestinian migrant labor force that leaves the territories to seek work within Israel.

In addition to being the poorest segment of Palestinian society, the refugees have also borne the brunt of the army's brutality. Midnight raids and tear-gas bombings are most common in the overcrowded refugee camps.

Because the refugee camps have traditionally been centers of Palestinian resistance, an enormous number of their young men have been arrested and detained, as demonstrated in Fuwar camp, near Hebron. The children at one home entertained this reporter by showing the family photo album, and a 12-year-old girl narrated.

"This is my cousin, he is in prison. This is my other cousin, he is in prison. This is my brother, he is in Germany. This is my other brother, he is in prison."

For these children, the absence of their male relatives has become the norm. Also normal in the camps is the hovering smell of tear gas, the sight of patrolling armed soldiers and the constant threat of violence.

As a result, refugees tend to be much more overtly political than richer Palestinians. The difference was evident in talking to teenagers who had been injured by Israeli soldiers during the uprising. A boy from a typical middle-class family, with his parents present, would often say something like, "No. I wasn't at the demonstration. I was going to the pharmacy for my mother when I accidentally walked into the middle of the demonstration. That's when I was shot."

A boy from a refugee camp would say, "Of course I was at the demonstration! Everyone was there. My whole family was at the demonstration."

Learning to sew: Despite the differences, however, class divisions within Palestinian society are being temporarily submerged in the interest of the national struggle. Both rich and poor participate in demonstrations, strikes and boycotts, and virtually everyone refers to the PLO pamphlets for guidance.

One wealthy West Bank family, for example, spent the spring working to become economically self-sufficient, as recommended by the pamphlets. While her brother was busy expanding the family garden, the mother was learning how to bake bread and sew.

A year ago, this gold-adorned woman would never have considered making her children's school uniforms rather than buying them. But as the primary schools prepared to reopen in May she struggled to figure out the sewing instructions. "The *intifada* is teaching me so many things," she explained.

The increased participation of families like this one is one of the major successes of the *intifada*. Strikes and boycotts can succeed only if everyone participates, and the united front now being presented by the Palestinians may be one of their greatest strengths. □

Eileen Flanagan is a graduate student at Yale. She recently travelled to the West Bank.

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 14-20, 1988 11

By Karen Lehrman

IN THE DIN OF POST-CONVENTION SLOGANEERING, it is easy to miss the background cacophony of America's third-largest party. Amid a sea of chuckles, screams and retching, the U.S. Libertarian Party (LP) is lurching its way into the political arena. It's not a pretty sight.

This year's LP candidate for president is Ron Paul, a former four-term Republican congressman from Texas. Paul has a tough job. While he's out there mingling at fund-raisers, showing up on cable TV shows or speaking at conservative clubs trying to make libertarianism respectable, most libertarians are hoping he fails miserably. They view Paul as a polyester-garbed, right-wing crank who has co-opted the LP, and he has attracted the attention of such disaffected new righters as Howard Phillips and Richard Viguerie and the support of former Pat Robertson followers.

But even if Paul were a "real" libertarian, most libertarians still wouldn't want the Libertarian Party to exist, let alone succeed. LP purists view winning any election as selling out, preferring instead to hold supper clubs where they can discuss such issues as the feasibility of privately held nuclear deterrents. Libertarian Republicans also want the party to be simply a social circle, so that LP activists will then join the GOP. Countereconomic libertarians believe the Libertarian Party is an immoral oxymoron, even though its platform calls for the abolition of public schools, public roads and government currency. Objectivists believe libertarians themselves are immoral. And free-market economists shun the libertarian label, fearing association with the "bunch of crazies" who use it.

In addition to these strategic differences, which cause libertarians to say worse things about each other than about the government they have

sworn their allegiance against, there are the ideological squabbles between those who take the philosophy, which is based on 19th-century liberalism, to its logical extreme and preach anarchy; the minarchists, who favor a minimal government of only police, courts and defense; and mainstream libertarians who just oppose government prohibition of "victimless crimes" (prostitution, pornography, drug use, etc.), interference in the market and intervention abroad. They all do agree, however, that no individual or group (i.e., government) has the right to initiate violence against the person or property of anyone else.

For a quick check on the state of the party, pick up a copy of the *Libertarian Party News* and look at the ads. You'll find the Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns ("Gay? Lesbian? Or simply concerned?"); the Libertarians for Animal Rights ("for Libertarians who support animal rights and oppose abortion"); the Christian Libertarians ("This book is unique in that it Scripturally exposes the primary function of government...") and the not-Christian Libertarians ("Imagine: freedom from government and churches!"). Banned Books offers "the world's most controversial and unusual books. Many of our books are considered so inflammatory we cannot advertise them in this magazine." Subjects include: "Shadowing and Surveillance," "Dropping Out of Sight" and "Uninhabited Islands."

LIBERTARIAN

Hey, nobody
making you

you have to go to the cave," explains the knight. And then the nomination of Ron Paul, a "respectable" candidate.

Jostling for position: But the move was highly unpopular: the party's mass base is in the West, and the dragon is even bigger and uglier than it was four years ago. At the September 1987 convention in Seattle there was a bitter fight between supporters of Paul and those of Russell Means, the American-Indian leader whose qualifications for office include leading the armed Wounded Knee uprising in 1973 and befriending Louis Farrakhan. Means has also denounced written language. (Running behind them were Jim Lewis, now in jail for refusing to file his income tax forms, and 70-year-old Harry Glenn, a country-western singer who said he wanted to be president to "kill all IRS agents.")

Means' supporters attacked Paul for the same reasons he's attracting the attention of the disaffected new right: he's more conservative than Bush. Paul opposes abortion (in accord with only a small minority of libertarians); voted in Congress against a bill that would have struck down D.C.'s sodomy law; at one time supported quarantine of Human Immune Virus (HIV) positives; and ran a campaign video at the Seattle convention featuring a little girl praying in school.

Paul's supporters, meanwhile, led by the intellectual patron saint of libertarianism, Murray Rothbard, now an economics professor at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, charged that Meansians were *luftmenschen*, a rootless counterculture with no steady income, and wanted the party to remain "a social club for crazies." In an article entitled "Life and Death in Seattle" in the bimonthly *Liberty*, Rothbard let loose: "By nominating Russell Means we would be making a complete laughing stock of the Libertarian Party." Of course, Rothbard has little room to talk. He has advocated everything from private police, courts and defense to armed insurrection.

The *luftmenschen*, meanwhile are busy preparing for Means' big comeback in '92. They've organized Freedom Is For Everyone (FIFE), dedicated to transforming the LP into a rainbow coalition of the "oppressed": pimps, prostitutes, blue-collar workers, survivalists, polygamist minorities, S&M practitioners. The *luftmenschen* have experience in this. In 1986 they ran Ne-

Freedom's
just another
nothing is

WHOSE LIFE IS IT ANYWAY



A campaign poster for Norma Jean Almodovar, LP's candidate for California lieutenant governor.

THE NEW YORK TIMES SEPT. 14-20, 1988

free-for-all

Jean Almodovar, a prostitute, as the LP candidate for lieutenant governor of California.

Her campaign manager boasts that her campaign was financed by "the methods of free enterprise": selling posters of the well-shaped Almodovar dressed only in red tape and holding a pair of scissors under the headline, "Cut the Red Tape"; or of Almodovar covered only by a censored sign, under the words, "Whose Life is it Anyway?" (Posters sold for \$20 each; \$100 signed.)

"Norma Jean Almodovar is more than just a candidate for the Libertarian Party. She is an example of libertarian principles in action," wrote her campaign manager (though she promised not to practice her profession while campaigning). Almodovar received 85,000 votes.

"If you think of all the things you can do to people," explained one New York Libertarian, "giving someone an orgasm is not that bad."

Almodovar is now in jail serving a three-year sentence for pandering. She was a Los Angeles traffic cop before becoming a prostitute ("I was sleeping with the guys on the force anyway, so I figured I might as well get paid for it," she quipped on *60 Minutes*) and claims she was given an unusually harsh sentence because she threatened to reveal police involvement in local burglary, murder and prostitution rings.

The other factions: The Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC) claims to be as ideologically pure as the FIFEers: since no LP candidate is going to win, he or she should only be trying to get "principle" votes. LROC's goal is to bring Libertarian activists into the Republican Party, making it more libertarian. Calling Paul "a detriment to liberty," LROCers claim his main appeal is not to libertarians, but to John Birchers (who, in fact, did a favorable spread on him in a recent issue of their *New American*, which, in fact, pre-LP candidacy, listed him as a contributing editor). For kicks, LROC distributed campaign buttons reading, "Gay Nazis for Paul" and "Paul-LaRouche in '88" at last year's LP convention.

Samuel Konkin III, founder of the Movement of the Libertarian Left (MLL), is one of the few libertarians outside the party who is happy with the Paul candidacy—but for all the wrong reasons. "Paul is not terribly libertarian, putting a greater gap between the party and libertarian

philosophy," explains Konkin. "Libertarianism means abolishing government. Joining the LP is like joining the Mafia to abolish crime." Instead, all real libertarians should attempt to "reduce the LP to the level of size, impotence and humility" of the Nazi party.

Konkin says real libertarians should also be practicing counter-establishment economics, countereconomics for short, the practice of "evading, avoiding and defying" the state: employing illegal aliens, dealing or consuming proscribed drugs, prostitution, pornography, bootlegging, false identification papers, gambling, proscribed sexual conduct, smuggling and driving over the speed limit. Moreover, "anyone about to be apprehended by the state can, should and does pay off, bribe and apply 'grease' to the state's enforcers."

Better still, don't pay taxes. "Should the taxpayers completely cut off the blood supply, the vampire state would helplessly perish," he writes in his *New Libertarian Manifesto*. And by all means, recruit others. "Given typically confused individual acquaintances who consider a countereconomic act, encourage them to do it. If they are intelligent enough and not likely to turn on you, explain risks involved and return expected."

Konkin is no armchair libertarian. He lives in Anarchovillage, a cluster of 10 apartments in Long Beach, Calif., with a dozen other anarchists who make their living off of the countereconomy and indulge their fascination with cryogenics. He even begins and ends conversations with "Greetings, laissez-faire!" and "Thanks a lot, laissez-faire!" and punctuates various sentences with "Market willing!" He's also no Rambo. Though he once wrote that there's nothing wrong with "moral individuals...building and owning anything from Saturday Night Specials to A-bombs and on to planet-smashers and galaxy-detonating anti-matter spheres," he now warns his followers "never to initiate any act of violence regardless of how likely a 'libertarian' result may appear.... When the state releases its final wave of suppression—and is successfully resisted—this is the definition of Revolution."

The Rand connection: Although objectivists—orthodox followers of Ayn Rand—find him morally repugnant (and the feeling is mutual), they agree with Konkin that "running for political office is one of the least effective ways of fighting for capitalism." Even after her death in 1982, Rand remains both the godmother and *bête noir* of the libertarian movement.

It's hard to find a libertarian who hasn't had a profound Ayn Rand experience: "Atlas Shrugged changed my life," is an oft-used libertarian conversation-starter. During the '60s, with her opposition to collectivism and championing of the free market, many libertarians had called themselves objectivists, and Rand even called herself a libertarian. But then she discovered the movement was filled with anarchists, and libertarians discovered her anti-communist zeal and her "objective" morality. War was declared. Rand called libertarians "a random collection of emotional hippies of the right who seek to play at politics without philosophy," and libertarians sneered back at her ironic rigid authoritarianism and cult-like followers.

Today those followers accuse libertarians of stealing from their philosophy the non-aggression axiom, while discarding the personal moral standards necessary to justify liberty. Objectivists be-

lieve libertarians act "subjectively," on any random impulse. Objectivists often use as examples the libertarian who wrote that supporting the North American Man/Boy Love Association is the "acid test" of one's libertarian credentials ("Those children...who indulge in gay intergenerational relationships...are merely exercising their right to noninvasively reject our culture's morality"). And the libertarian writer Walter Block in his book *Defending the Undefendable* glorifies as "heroes" pimps (who "serve the function of bringing together two parties to a transaction at less cost than it would take to bring them together without his good offices").

In spite of all this in-fighting, libertarian ideas are being taken seriously by some, perhaps because surveys show 80 percent of baby-boomers are economically conservative and socially liberal. Mainstream libertarian stands such as privatization, deregulation and tax and welfare reform have moved beyond both Democratic and Republican rhetoric. Even the issue of drug legalization is coming out of the closet. But credit for this success can be taken only by free-market economists and analysts, who shun, and sometimes cringe at, any association with the term libertarian. This, by the way, doesn't seem to bother libertarian purists; they don't think these people deserve the label.

While these free-marketers are called pragma-

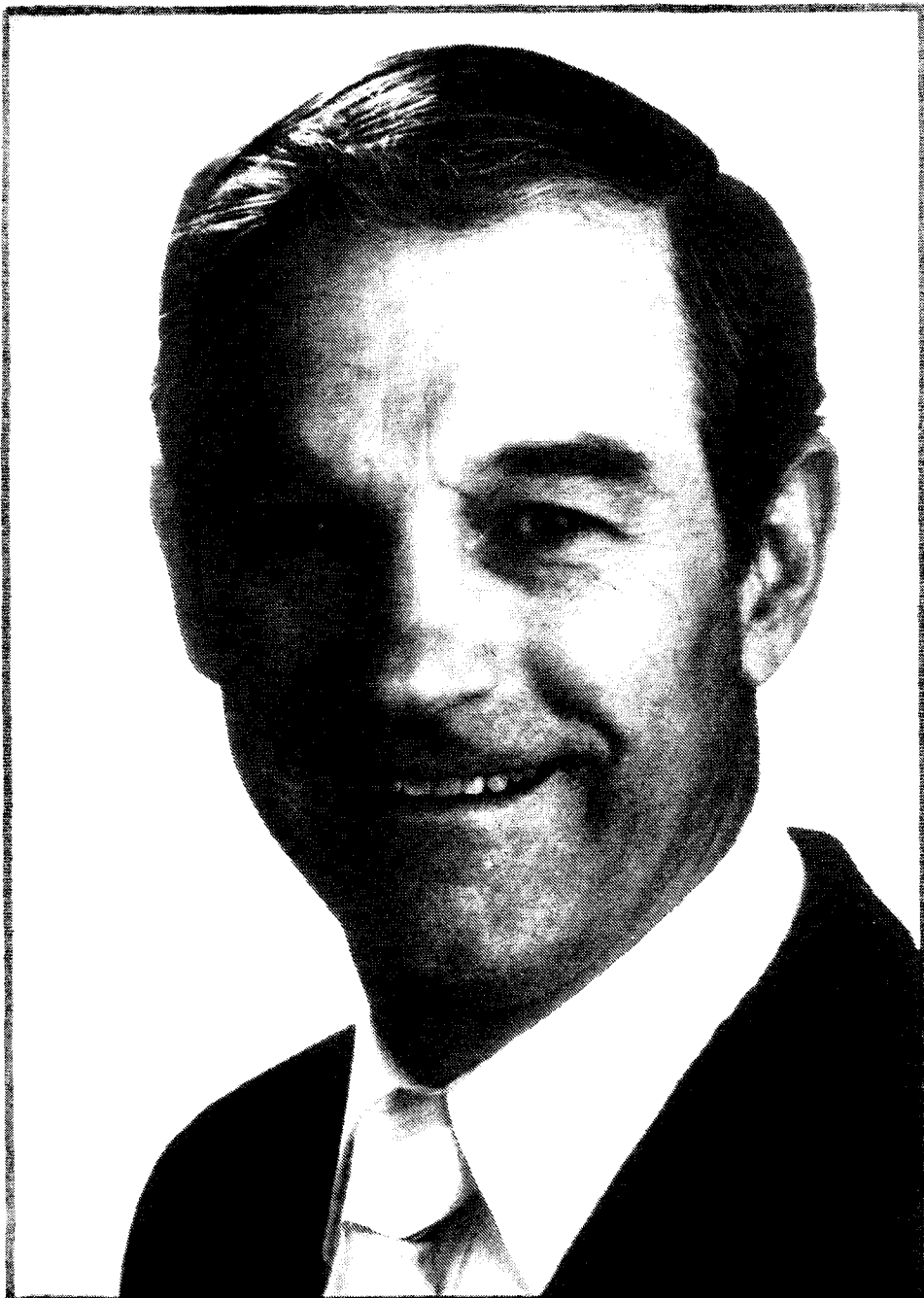
tic, their beliefs are pure libertarian, not watered down with any Paulesque conservatism or any other "ism": they think Paul is a disgrace to the movement. But they say the same thing about all the other factions. They define their pragmatism as a serious attempt to change people's minds. They denounced posturing radicalism.

The most well-known libertarian think tank, the Cato Institute, whose work on Social Security reform and minimizing U.S. forces abroad has gained wide recognition, refused to be interviewed for an article that discussed the Libertarian Party. The fact that the LP has moved to D.C. and has even nominated a candidate who Cato President Crane coveted for 1984 doesn't appear to have mellowed his resentment. The most important libertarian intellectual today, Charles Murray, author of *Losing Ground*, which shows how counterproductive the Great Society programs have been, doesn't call himself a libertarian. Even *Reason* magazine, which runs stories on privately owned fire departments and the abolition of property taxes, rarely uses the word libertarian (though, because of its particularly hawkish editorial line, *Reason* is frequently dismissed categorically in libertarian circles as the "left wing" of the Reagan administration.)

Perhaps Fred Smith, founder of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a pro-market public interest group based in Washington, D.C., explains it best: "Libertarians think, 'I can outdo you.' And each group tries to out-horrorify the other. Then they say, 'See, I'm a libertarian: no one likes me.'"

"We have a Sears catalogue of ideas—privatization, deregulation, individual responsibility. We're asking people for a one-night stand, not to marry us, to try a product out. So why should we talk about prostitution at age 13?" □

Karen Lehrman is a New York-based journalist.



Ron Paul, LP candidate for president, is a former four-term Republican congressman from Texas.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

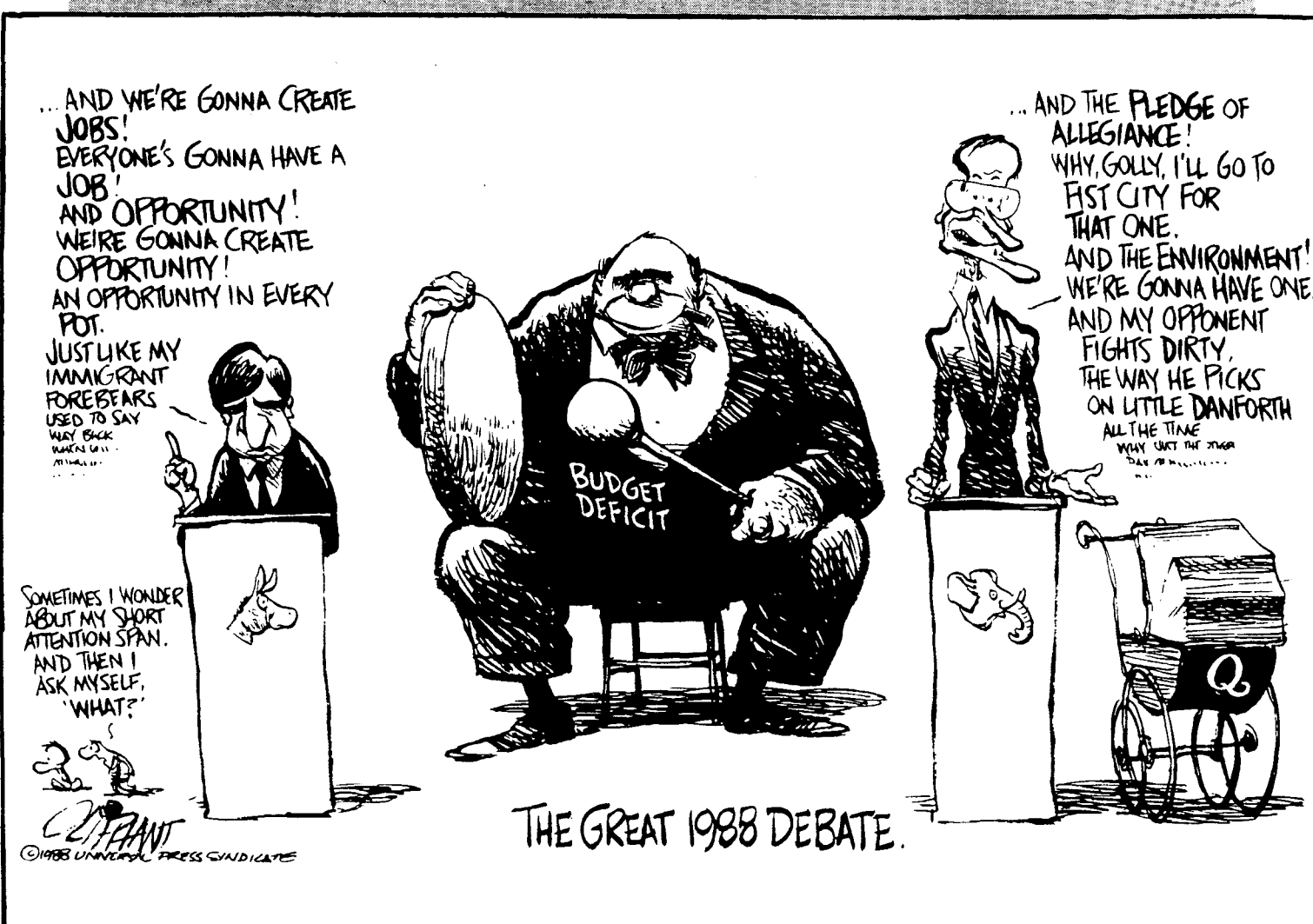
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Is Dukakis trying to lose, or is he just incompetent?

Michael Dukakis won the Democratic nomination by saying as little of substance as possible and by waiting for his opponents—other than Jesse Jackson—to self-destruct. Now he appears to be conducting the presidential race on the same principle. And at times it appears that George Bush and Dan Quayle are doing their best to help him.

Last week, for example, while addressing an American Legion convention, Bush commemorated September 7 as the 47th anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. There was only one problem: the anniversary is on December 7. The vice president finally corrected himself when someone in the audience caught his attention. Of course, he may only have been paying homage to President Reagan—his *lapis mentis* could simply have been a gesture of respect to his boss—but it didn't help create an image of competence.

Similarly, the previous week, when Dan Quayle was questioned about Bush's announced intention to put his running mate in charge of the "war on drugs," poor Dan let it slip that he didn't even know Bush was the one now in charge. Of course, given Bush's performance on this assignment it's understandable that a busy senator might not have noticed who was running the "war." Even so, Quayle hurried to assure the press, he was going to study up on this real hard before he took command. He's sure he can do as good a job as his new boss.

Given Bush's goof in choosing Quayle as his running mate and his pathetic resort to McCarthyite attacks on Dukakis' patriotism—which he now says are really only attacks on the governor's competence in the field of national defense—you might think the Republicans are indeed in the process of self-destructing. But Bush is managing to stay even with, or perhaps even a little ahead of, Dukakis in the polls because, so far, this is not a campaign of issues—sometimes known as ideology—or of competence, but of images. And the Republicans have been out-imaging the Democrats (see *In These Times*, Sept. 7).

For the GOP this is the most promising path. The issues closest to their hearts are not overly popular. It's really no surprise that aid to the contras—Reagan's and Bush's most heartfelt issue over the past eight years—has not been mentioned by Bush. After all, nearly two-thirds of the American people oppose that aid. And despite his tough stand on a military defense of our nation, Bush has said very little about the level of military spending, which most people would like to see reduced. In an attempt to pre-empt criticism of the Reagan record, he has embraced the ecology issue, saying he'll clean up the air and the water once he's in charge. But on this issue, too, it's mostly been images—a boat ride in the polluted Boston Harbor, where Dukakis is vulnerable, or talk about clean beaches.

In the image war, the Republicans know their business. They have worked the media brilliantly for the past eight years, and it seems unlikely that the Democrats can come close to matching them in a campaign that remains one of smoke and mirrors. But so far, Dukakis hasn't given any hint that he can put forward a program that is more attractive to the public than the Reagan record, which is Bush's basic platform. Dukakis, too, has shied completely away from Central America, he has waffled on military spending and he has failed to develop a concept of national defense that doesn't simply rely on military spending and muscle-flexing in foreign affairs. He has also failed to make a case for the increased social programs—on health-care, housing, education—that most Americans want. And, of course, he has tried to outdo Bush not only on the "defense" of Israel, but also in moving further away from the possibility of a two-state solution in the Occupied Territories or acceptance of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people.

Some of these are tough issues to explain to the public. They require a coherent approach and a determination to treat the American people like adults, rather than couch potatoes. That would require a commitment to talk in more than catch phrases and 30-second TV bites, and to have an independent strategy. Instead, Dukakis has left the initiative to the Republicans, apparently hoping that he can roll with the punches long enough to emerge on top. It seems a strategy designed to lose what looked like an easy victory just a few weeks ago.

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LETTERS

Imagine this!

YOU STATE IN YOUR JULY 20 EDITORIAL REGARDING U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf and specifically the downing of Flight 655: "It is difficult to imagine what policy objectives the administration has had other than aggressive projection of American military power wherever an opportunity presents itself."

One objective that I have "imagined" is that the shootdown was one more action in a long-range strategy to remove the inhibiting "Vietnam Syndrome" from the minds of the American people. Ever since Vietnam the U.S. has been somewhat held in check by the American people's suspicion of, and resistance to, foreign intervention.

This resistance has been consciously eroded, little by little, by limited but nonetheless aggressive military actions, such as in Grenada, Libya and Lebanon, and by supporting the contras in Nicaragua. Aside from the immediate objectives of these actions, I believe all of them to be part of a strategy to reverse the Vietnam Syndrome. In this respect, the lies and misinformation regarding the Flight 655 massacre, which you so well describe, have served well to win the support of the American people for a policy they would otherwise oppose and to prepare them to accept future military action.

Mary Chandler
Silver Spring, Md.

Pyrrhic victory?

ROGER K'ERSON'S EXCELLENT PIECE ON THE DEMOCRATIC primary in Michigan's 2nd Congressional District (ITT, Aug. 17) failed to mention that many on the left will sit out the fall campaign to oust the conservative Republican incumbent.

As Kerson reported, the lack of access to both media and fund-raising sources crippled Dean Baker's campaign against Lana Pollack. But it is important to note that Pollack contributed to this process with campaign tactics that were at best self-defeating and at worst dishonest.

Pollack and the liberal establishment basically acted as if the Baker campaign did not exist, despite the fact that Baker had been the Democratic nominee two years earlier and was again running an impressive grassroots campaign. Backing down from a series of debates proposed by the District Party, Pollack made just two token joint appearances, with little advance publicity, restricted ground rules and no TV or radio coverage. She constantly portrayed herself to media and funding sources as the Democratic nominee. (Once she admitted to the local paper that there was indeed a primary, but that the probability of her losing was similar to that of getting struck by lightning.) Needless to say, her tactics frustrated and angered Baker supporters, most of whom had backed Pollack in previous campaigns and many of whom would have otherwise worked for her in November.

Despite her impressive fund raising, the reality is that even conventional liberals like Pollack cannot rely on money alone. The Republicans will always be able to raise more than Democrats and will be able to concentrate it on a smaller number of congressional incumbents.

There are two important ironies here. One, Pollack will need a large number of

volunteers this fall, including the very people whom she ridiculed during the primary. Two, while Pollack is clearly preferable to the incumbent on issues such as women's rights and the environment, she will probably not get the active support of many progressives. A principled Pollack campaign would have made for a more democratic primary in August and a more likely Democratic victory in November.

Jeff Alson
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Disinvestment defended

ANDRE ASTROW'S RECENT ARTICLE, "DISINVESTMENT is a dead end in South Africa" (ITT, Aug. 17), chastises the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. for focussing on corporate disinvestment from South Africa and government-imposed sanctions. He sees these strategies as being "dismal failures" largely because they depend (in his view) on the good will of corporations and the U.S. government for their success. By contrast, he proposes a strategy of mobilizing the U.S. labor movement to boycott the use and handling of all South African products in the U.S.

Astrow's argument misunderstands disinvestment and, in significant ways, feeds into exactly the kind of logic that corporate opponents of disinvestment use to combat it. First, the measure of success of disinvestment is not singular and is certainly not its ability to pressure the Botha government into dismantling apartheid (as Astrow and corporate officials would have it). Instead, disinvestment is designed to remove corporate support for the military-industrial complex of South Africa, to support liberation and class struggles (several surveys show widespread support from black South African workers for sanctions and disinvestment) and to mobilize further support for the anti-apartheid struggle in the U.S.

The strategy of corporate disinvestment developed as the major anti-apartheid strategy in the U.S. because it has been the most effective in mobilizing widespread student, religious and union groups. Over the past 15 or more years, disinvestment came to the fore as shareholder resolutions, the Sullivan Principles and other tactics were tried and discarded as being ineffective; it came about as a result of the rejection of the corporate logic of "if you are not there, you can't help." Disinvestment thus exposes the connections of U.S. capital to apartheid and challenges the normal profit-centered logic of U.S. corporations and their representatives on boards of trustees throughout the country.

What the anti-apartheid movement does not need is a shift to a new, simplistic, sure-fire

strategy, such as that proposed by Astrow. All strategies have multiple and contradictory effects. In proposing and working out such strategies, it is crucial that the anti-apartheid movement define its goals and criteria for success. We cannot let the opposition define them, for they do so only to judge and condemn our strategies, which have had success. We must be prepared to re-evaluate such strategies in changing conditions, as events change in South Africa and as corporations try to wiggle out from under the pressure.

Apartheid will be ended by South Africans (mostly black but some white) overthrowing it. Our role is to support that struggle and to end all U.S. military, diplomatic, trade and corporate support of apartheid South Africa. This is best done, I believe, by confronting the contradictions of the strategies we have, developing new ones that take us further and challenging the ideology, logic and dominance of transnational corporations.

Fred Curtis
Teaneck, N.J.

Remembering

IT IS THE SINGERS AND PHILOSOPHERS WHO GIVE voice to people's desires, so it is they who suffer repression first. Let us remember a singer and a philosopher who died many years ago last week: the singer, Victor Jara of Chile; the philosopher, Stephen Biko of South Africa.

Victor Jara: actor, director, but above all the singer laureate, chronicling the mood of his country in song. After the election of 1970 ushered in the socialist government of Salvador Allende, his song, "Open Your Windows," addressed to a woman in the *barrios*, says: "Open your window, let the sun bring light into every corner of your house. Look outside—our lives weren't made to be steeped in shadow and sadness..."

But in 1973, with the assistance of the CIA, the government was overthrown by the military on September 11, and the presidential palace was bombed. Victor Jara and thousands of others were arrested and held in a soccer stadium; Jara died there three days later. The military dumped his mutilated body in the countryside, but a gravedigger recognized it and, with others, assisted his widow to claim it. Perhaps only those so famous can escape the common fate of Latin American dissidents: disappearance.

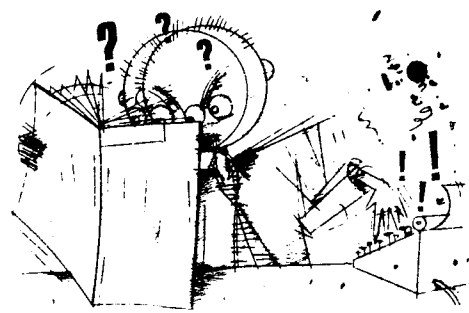
In a different decade or in a freer country, Stephen Biko would have been remembered as a graduate of medical school (he dropped out to support his family), or as a philosopher and author of the black-consciousness movement in South Africa. Biko's pseudonym—Frank Talk—became famous as a common correspondent in black newspapers. He ad-

vocated dialogue with whites and a role for whites in the future black-majority-ruled South Africa. His first priority was providing room for blacks to discuss their lives, and it was this, not malice, that led him to advocate separatism. He said, "The black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation. He rejects himself, precisely because he attaches the meaning white to all that is good...so in a sense the term 'black is beautiful' challenges that..."

Biko also coined an expanded definition of black: any person of a racial group restricted by the government—and this as much as his community organizing drew the government's wrath upon him. Banned, later arrested, Biko was severely beaten by police who then took him to a black hospital—700 miles away. He died Sept. 12, 1977. His funeral, attended by 15,000 people, sparked a wave of unrest that led to the banning of all black-consciousness organizations six weeks later.

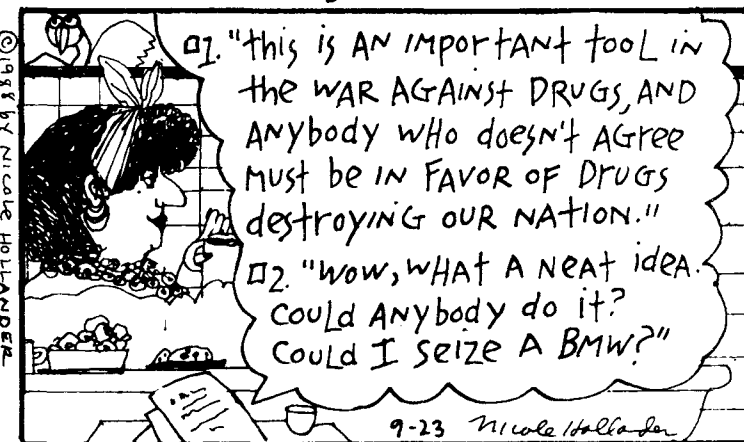
Because of the lesson of those six weeks, South Africa is walking a tightrope in its preparation for the next political death, that of Nelson Mandela. Tuberculosis has not dampened the burning desire for freedom that has sustained Mandela, so the government is faced with the dilemma of a man too dangerous to be free and too ill to risk allowing him to become another leader dying in jail. Perhaps Mandela will struggle long enough for life to see a new day of freedom in his land. Whatever comes, the monumental weight of all those years leading South Africa's leading black political organization have already forced Westerners to pay close attention to this man's resounding cries for equality. This at least is a victory. Like Stephen Biko and Victor Jara, his downfall is his ticket to immortality: his message was heard.

Norman Watkins
Chicago



Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

9-23 Nicole Hollander

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 14-20, 1988 15

By Stephen Zunes

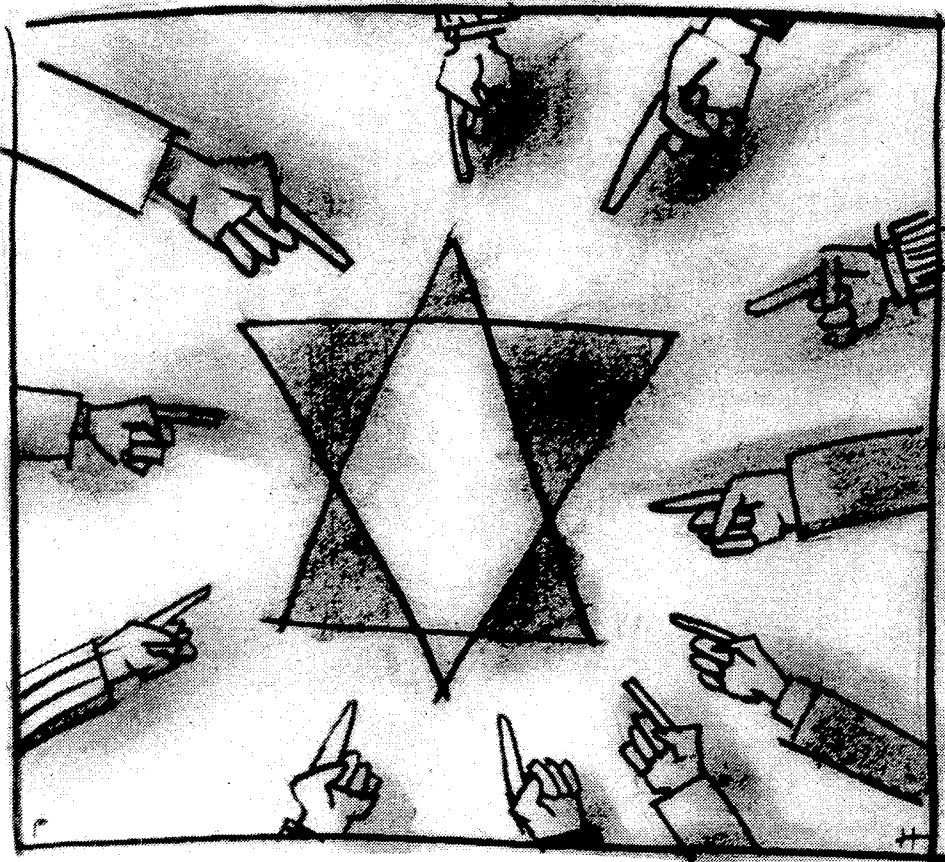
FOR AMERICANS CONCERNED WITH Israeli-Palestinian peace, the 1988 U.S. presidential race is quite unsettling. Both Michael Dukakis and George Bush are trying to outflank each other on the right in their support of Israel's brutal military occupation through continued U.S. military and economic aid. They are also both firm in their opposition to negotiations with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel. This comes in spite of recent public opinion polls indicating that a majority of Americans now support a two-state solution, reduced military and economic support for the Israeli government and direct negotiations with the Palestinian leadership.

Despite rhetoric to the contrary, it is doubtful that many U.S. officials feel any moral commitment to Israel or believe that Israel is "a democracy battling for its very survival." Were this actually the case, U.S. aid to Israel would have been highest in the early years of the existence of the Jewish state, when its democratic institutions were strongest and its strategic situation most vulnerable, and would have declined as its relative military power grew dramatically and its repression against Palestinians in the Occupied Territories increased. Instead, the trend has been in just the opposite direction.

There is also little evidence to suggest that the lack of meaningful debate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a result of "the Jewish vote." Jews make up less than 4 percent of the U.S. population and are hardly monolithic on the question of U.S. policy in the Middle East. Indeed, some of the most outspoken advocates in Congress of U.S. support for Israel's occupation policies—such as Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HA) and Sen. Quentin Burdick (D-ND)—are from states with very small Jewish populations.

Similarly, the role of the "Jewish lobby" has been greatly exaggerated. While the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and other right-wing interest groups are certainly well-funded and well-organized, they have been unable to force the U.S. government into full accountability in other policy areas that concern the Jewish community, such as the ongoing large-scale U.S. arms sales to reactionary Arab regimes or the continued presence of Nazi war criminals in the U.S. The lobbies'

Looking at Israel in a broad historical context



"success" in promoting U.S. support for the Israeli government comes in large part because it happens to correspond with more powerful interests.

Underlying reasons: The actual reason for the direction of U.S. policy, then, may have more to do with the role Israel plays for the United States. Israel has successfully crushed radical nationalist movements in Lebanon and Jordan, as well as the Occupied Territories. It has kept Syria, an ally of the Soviet Union, in check. Its air force controls the skies from Morocco to Iran and from Turkey to Ethiopia. It has been a conduit for U.S. arms to regimes too unpopular to get direct military assistance—such as South Africa, Iran and Guatemala. Israeli military advisers have assisted the Nicaraguan contras, the Salvadoran junta and foreign occupation forces in Namibia and Western Sahara. Its secret service has assisted the U.S. in intelligence-gathering and covert operations. Israel has missiles capable of reaching the Soviet Union and has

cooperated with the U.S. military-industrial complex with research and development for advanced weapons technology.

As a result, the U.S. has been encouraging the most chauvinistic and militaristic elements in the Israeli government, undermining the last vestiges of Labor Zionism's commitment to socialism, non-alignment and cooperation with the Third World.

A disquieting analogy: What is most unsettling is how closely this policy corresponds with historic anti-Semitism. Throughout Europe in past centuries, the ruling class of a given country would, in

By making Israel the agent of U.S. policy in the Mideast, the U.S., by diverting hostility from the exploitative global system, has perpetuated the historic use of Jews as scapegoats.

return for granting limited religious and cultural autonomy, set up certain individuals in the Jewish community to become the visible agents of the oppressive social order, such as tax collectors and money lenders. When the population would threaten to rise up against the ruling class, the rulers could then blame the Jews, sending the wrath of an exploited people against convenient scapegoats, resulting in the pogroms and other notorious waves of repression that have taken place throughout the Jewish Diaspora.

The idea behind Zionism was to break this cycle through the creation of a Jewish

nation-state, where Jews would no longer be dependent on the ruling class of a given country. The tragic irony is that, as a result of Israel's inability to make peace with its Arab neighbors, the creation of Israel has perpetuated this cycle on a global scale, with Israel being used by Western imperialist powers—initially Great Britain and France, and more recently the U.S.—to maintain their interests in the Middle East. Therefore, one finds autocratic Arab governments and other Third World regimes blaming "Zionism" for their problems rather than the broader exploitative global economic system and their own elites who benefit from such a system.

Rather than join the chorus blaming the entire Zionist movement and the existence of Israel itself as the basis for the Israeli government's repressive policies, the left should instead see the situation in such a broader historical context. While Palestinians are the most immediate victims of U.S. policy in the Middle East, ultimately Israel is a victim as well. Not only is such an analysis more accurate, it also offers individuals currently defensive about criticism of Israel a greater opportunity to join in a movement for Israeli-Palestinian peace. We must convince such "supporters of Israel" that continued U.S. "support" will likely increase Israel's militarization and isolation in the world community, encourage greater intransigence by its enemies and may ultimately lead to Israel's destruction.

Unlike popular opposition to Reagan administration policy in Central America and southern Africa, the Middle East has not become an issue in the electoral arena, largely because—with the exception of Jesse Jackson and a few others—the Democratic leadership advocates the same perspectives as the Republicans. This can change, however, if concerned citizens can mount an effective challenge.

In 1968 the Democratic Party defeated a minority platform plank calling for U.S. military withdrawal from Vietnam. By 1972 the party was largely unified in an anti-war stance, in large part because of the massive public protests against the war in the intervening years. Similarly, the 1980 Democratic convention defeated a plank calling for a verifiable and bilateral nuclear freeze. Four years later, as a result of mass protests and grass-roots organizing, the freeze became a major focus of the Democratic campaign. Only a few years ago the Democrats opposed sanctions against South Africa. Today, after demonstrations and mass arrests on college campuses and outside the South African consulates, the Democratic Party has taken a strong stance in support of anti-apartheid sanctions.

At the Democratic convention in July, the Democratic leadership blocked an initiative to include self-determination for both Israelis and Palestinians in the party platform. Until a similar mass movement for Middle East peace is active and organized, it is unlikely that the Democrats will alter their Middle East policy. Such a movement will succeed, however, only if it is explicit that its opposition to U.S. support of the Israeli occupation is not just pro-Palestinian, but ultimately pro-Israel as well.

Stephen Zunes is an assistant professor in the Department of Politics at Ithaca College in Ithaca, N.Y.

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No Heart Within the Beast

My favorite photograph of the campaign so far is of Lloyd Bentsen dangling an infant in his arms, a spectacle that in and of itself carries about as much pastoral authenticity as former Secretary of the Interior James Watt knitted out in a flannel campaign shirt pretending in his hour of crisis to be Jim Bridger reborn. But better yet, the infant had a stethoscope and was evidently trying to discern a heartbeat within the suited bosom of the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, hearing only the muted gurgle of oil and slush.

Among the many, many problems afflicting the Dukakis campaign, the Bentsen factor has not been adequately discussed. Indeed, after initial howls of dismay at his selection, liberals have fallen silent, as if in acknowledgement that maybe it was smart *reulpolitik* after all for Dukakis to have put this conservative Texan on the ticket.

The actual effect of Bentsen on Dukakis has been for the former to define the latter's campaign by dint of negative gravitational force, since any time Dukakis thinks of saying something remotely decent about chemical gas, contra aid, Angola, taxation, a comprehensive test ban and so forth, he is vaporized into the black hole of Bentsen's voting record.

So it looks as though Dukakis' only strategy is the one that earned him the nomination: waiting for other people to make mistakes and not being Jesse Jackson.

As of now Dukakis' disgustingly cowardly campaign makes me think he deserves to lose, and why should people care? A man who laments the passing of President Zia and honors his memory; who now refuses to support publicly Rep. John Conyers' (D-MI) bill on same-day registration; who is back-peddling on pledges made to Jackson in Atlanta to speak up for D.C. statehood, the ABC child-care bill, Rep. Ron Dellums' (D-CA) bill on South Africa; who refused to mention the three slain civil-rights workers even though he was speaking in Philadelphia, Miss., on the 24th anniversary of their murder; whose idea of a positive economic message is to pledge deficit reduction and the issuance of share certificates in the American Dream; who....

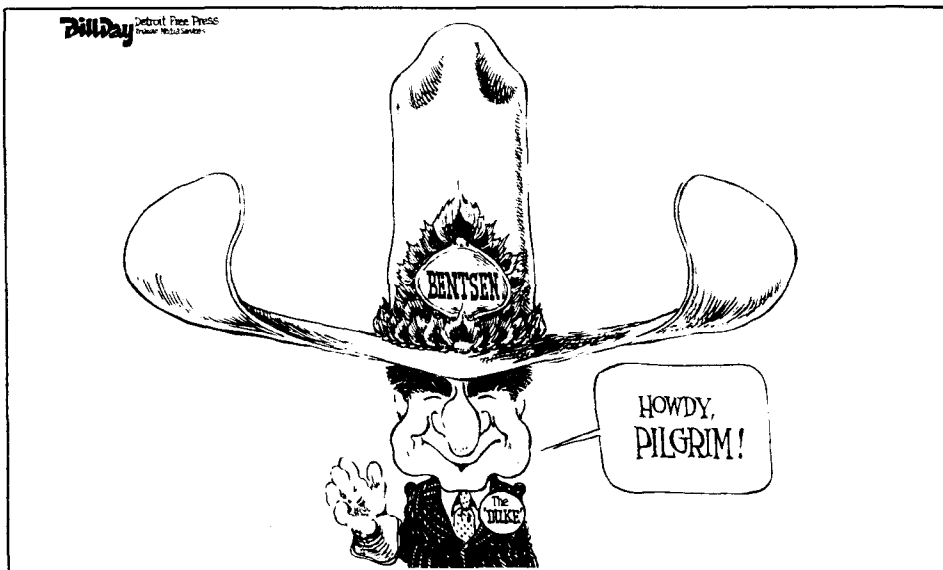
Admirers of Dukakis like to say that deep down he is a doughy liberal, puissant in principle, ruby-red in ardor. Once installed in the White House, with "Reagan Demi-crats" lured to his banner, he will tear off the false whiskers of Bentsenism and become the "real Mike Dukakis." But as we know from Roland Barthes, who castigated the bourgeois passion for thinking in essences, there is no real Dukakis any more than there was a real Reagan or a real Jimmy Carter. They are what they are at each successive moment of self-definition of what they feel they should be, just as with Cressida when she shuttled across the lines at Troy, in my favorite Shakespeare play.

Class War

Class is real, which is why people can relate to Dan Quayle, pro or con. In times of war you learn quick enough who has got money in the bank. At the time of the Civil War, draftees could buy their way out by purchasing substitutes to do the fighting for them. The going rate was about \$300 in 1860s money, just under \$4,000 today, which isn't too bad. The word used to be

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



that no congressperson's son ever fought in Vietnam, though I can't say I have checked this. Fred Gardner tells me that only two major-league athletes ended up there: Garry Maddox, an outfielder for the Giants, and Rocky Bleier, a running back for the Pittsburgh Steelers.

One of the most bizarre selling points offered on behalf of Quayle is that he is a "military reformer," and therefore well attuned to George Bush's zeal for a clean-up in procurement, expressed in his speech in New Orleans as the sentiment that every time he sees a snout in a pork barrel it breaks his heart.

A GOP fact sheet called him a fighter of "Pentagon waste and inefficiency." Barbara Boxer, a congresswoman from California, saw the *Washington Post* describing him in these terms. She called the paper in a fury and found that the description had been taken straight from this same GOP fact sheet, and no doubt hundreds of newspapers around the country did the same thing. All knowledgeable sources on either side of the fence in Congress agree that the words "military reform" and "Quayle" have nothing in common. Charles Bennett, a Democrat from Florida who sits on the House Armed Services Committee and who is certainly no liberal, says, "I don't know any other senator who has done more to diminish the legislation passed by the House attacking fraud, waste and abuse." Boxer says, "If I had to pick the biggest obstacle to reform, it would be Dan Quayle."

Congressional aides active in military reform despise Quayle. One working for a Republican senator says, "He was the point person for the opposition to reform. Anything the reform movement tried to accomplish was defeated or short-circuited by Quayle."

Quayle has been a consistent opponent of reform for his entire career, but the hostility seen above results from his largely successful efforts to kill legislation put together by House and Senate reformers in May 1985 (the reformers included Charles Grassley [R-IA], David Pryor [D-AR] and William Proxmire [D-WI] in the Senate; Boxer, Bennett, Denny Smith [R-OR] and Mel Levine [D-CA] in the House). At the time, Quayle was head of a Senate Armed Services Committee on Acquisition Policy, and he put together a package of "reforms" that was far weaker than alternative language introduced by Pryor. The three key battles were:

Whistle-blower: The House approved a

bill, sponsored by Boxer, that would have better protected whistle-blowers at the Defense Department. Quayle was totally opposed—Boxer says he "lectured me about how it would be contrary to military discipline," and said under no circumstances would it leave committee. As a result, "whistle-blower" died. (Whistle-blower survived conference this year but was eliminated when Reagan vetoed the entire defense bill.) As a result of Quayle's hardline stand on this issue, he was forced to give some ground—but very little—on "revolving door."

Revolving door: The House, led by Boxer and Bennett, wanted to ban Department of Defense procurement officials from going to work or consulting for companies, for a two-year period, that they had supervised during their stay at the department. Quayle was absolutely opposed to this as well. The initial "reform" measure he wanted to pass, according to Boxer, was that if someone approached a Defense Department employee while he was working for the Pentagon, the offer had to be reported—on the honor system, of course. In conference, the House language was watered down. Both Bennett and Boxer said they finally agreed to a bad compromise because they wanted to get at least something for their trouble and it was clear that Quayle would not give much. The final bill required that Defense Department employees report—"honor system" again—who they went to work for (post-Defense Department), and there was a two-year ban for a small number of top officials (presidential appointees). The following year the provision was tightened up slightly, over Quayle's objection.

What's interesting here is that if the House measure had passed in its original form, Melvyn Paisley, according to Boxer, "would have been stopped in his tracks. We would have had laws in place that might have prevented the scandal." Paisley was afraid of the revolving-door provision. As mentioned above, the first revolving-door provision was passed in 1985—it was tightened up a little bit the following year. But between April 1 and 16, 1987, Pentagon officials who retired were not covered by either provision. Paisley quit during that period, as did a whole host of other Pentagon employees.

"Should Cost": This was a provision that was really hated by the defense contractors. It required Pentagon contractors to "make available certain key costs and pricing data to the Department of Defense." The reformers pushed it through, in a

sneaky fashion. Grassley got it quietly through the Senate. According to Donna Martin, an aide in Boxer's office, Quayle didn't put up much of a fight because he figured he could kill it in conference, or water it down substantially. But the House then passed it with identical language. As a result, it wasn't conferenceable and became law. Quayle was reportedly furious when he discovered he'd been duped. According to Boxer, the contractors also went bananas, and the next year they made a major effort to kill it. The congressional leader of that charge was Quayle, no doubt fortified by the \$92,000 he'd pulled in from contractors for his re-election bid. His effort, however, failed.

Another important measure the reformers wanted to pass was the "Creeping Capitalism" bill, which Grassley wrote and introduced in the Senate. Oregon Republican Denny Smith introduced it on the House side. It was designed to ensure that competitive bidding took place on defense contracts. According to an aide in Smith's office, only 6 percent of all contracts in the '83-84 period were awarded on the basis of competitive bidding—defined as a sealed, formally advertised bid. The Pentagon claims that half of all contracts were bid on competitively in that period, a figure inflated by using a far broader assumption of what "competition" is. The bill mandated that the percentage of competitive bids increase by 5 percent a year, until reaching a minimum figure of 70 percent.

Quayle and Carl Levin (the "liberal" Democrat from Michigan, who had been Quayle's bipartisan partner in crime in killing all the measures discussed above, introduced in the Senate a competing measure that a Smith aide described as a "puff" alternative—"There were no teeth in it." Smith's bill passed in the House and Quayle's passed in the Senate. In conference Quayle led the attack on it and the "creeping" aspect was killed. According to one well-placed source, the Quayle version was written in the Pentagon and Quayle fronted for it.

Correction: It's not true, as I stated in my last column, that Joel Lisker, of contra-gate malodor, worked in Quayle's office alongside Rob Owen. Lisker worked for former Alabama Sen. Jeremiah Denton, and was there when Jack Terrell dealt with him.

Alexander Cockburn writes a column for *The Nation*. This column was prepared with the help of Ken Silverstein.

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Avoiding the doctrinaire as well as the doctrine error

Christian Socialism

By John Cort
Orbis Press, 402 pp., \$19.95

By Paul Buhle

THOUGH THE MAMMON-WORSHIPERS may cry, "Crucify him! Crucify him!" wrote socialistic American labor leader George McNeill in 1890, the true rebel would never accept the permanence of capitalistic materialism. No matter how dark the night ahead, "the new Pentecost will come, when every man shall have according to his needs." These are old thoughts, of course—at least two thousand

years old. Repeatedly, they seem to disappear into the rock-solid conservatism of organized churches, and the optimism of secular radical forces. Just as repeatedly, they turn up again, most recently as Liberation Theology.

Although we often fail to recog-

RELIGION

nize the religious elements in our own radical traditions, they have persisted and sometimes taken leading roles. Religious-communitarian colonies launched socialism in the New World. Abolitionism, women's rights and early labor reform efforts

transformed biblical watchwords into political action.

The earliest scholarly classic of U.S. socialism, *The Ancient Lowly*, by First International member C. Osborne Ward, devoted nearly a thousand pages to proving that Christianity had begun as a workers' movement against empire, and even in defeat raised the prospect of eventual collective triumph over the evil principle of empire. Jewish radicals described Marx as a Moses leading the children from the pharaoh's land of capitalism.

Christians in the Debs-led Socialist Party emphasized the struggles against war and for black rights. In

the decades since, they (aided by a large handful of liberal rabbis) have intermittently served in the front ranks of peace, civil rights, anti-imperialist and even feminist efforts, often self-consciously playing second fiddle to a largely anti-religious left.

Informed and informal: Well and good, but what is the real relation between the terms "Christian" and "socialism"? John Cort says in advance that he can't claim to be definitive. The subtitle reads, "An Informal History." But he means to explore the subject with a wide compass, offering the reader insights into the range of evidence available.

Cort himself deserves defining first. He is a jolly dogmatist. An activist from his youth in the Catholic Worker Movement, Cort has been a radical of a most unique sort. On the social side, he upbraids capitalism's evil effects upon the human body and spirit. On the spiritual side, he is the pope's man, a died-in-the-wool theological conservative with all the accompanying implications. Once, some decades ago, he worked closely with the Association of Catholic Trade Unions, which allied itself promiscuously with the various anti-communist forces inside the labor movement, a strategy with catastrophic effects.

Recently, as editor of the Democratic Socialists of America's quarterly religious newsletter, he has stirred up a hornet's nest of controversy with his opposition to women's ordination and his resistance to a gay Christianity. But Cort cannot be accused of hypocrisy. He has not only worked hard with his pen to offer a vision of a more cooperative future, but has given his boundless personal energies to aid the poor directly.

Hidden histories: *Christian Socialism* has Cort's own weak and strong points. It is, for starters, more Catholic than catholic. He passes rather swiftly over religious rebels from the church, be they early com-

munitarian Gnostics, Radical Reformation Protestants or Latin American syncretists (weavers of new doctrine from Catholic and indigenous sources).

He therefore not only sees ambiguous—and arguably conservative—figures such as St. Paul and Thomas Aquinas in the most favorable light, he fails to grasp the theological-philosophical significance of revolt itself, the periodic attempt to effect true Christianity (or, later, socialism) through uprooting the corrupt and despotic "Whore of Babylon" depicted by the rebels.

Cort seems strangely unaware of, or indifferent toward, the recent scholarly attention to the hidden history of religious-radical mysticism (prominently on display in, among other places, the leftish *Gnosis* magazine), so loyal is he to the Thomist mainstream. In short, very different books on the same subject have been written with no less commitment or erudition.

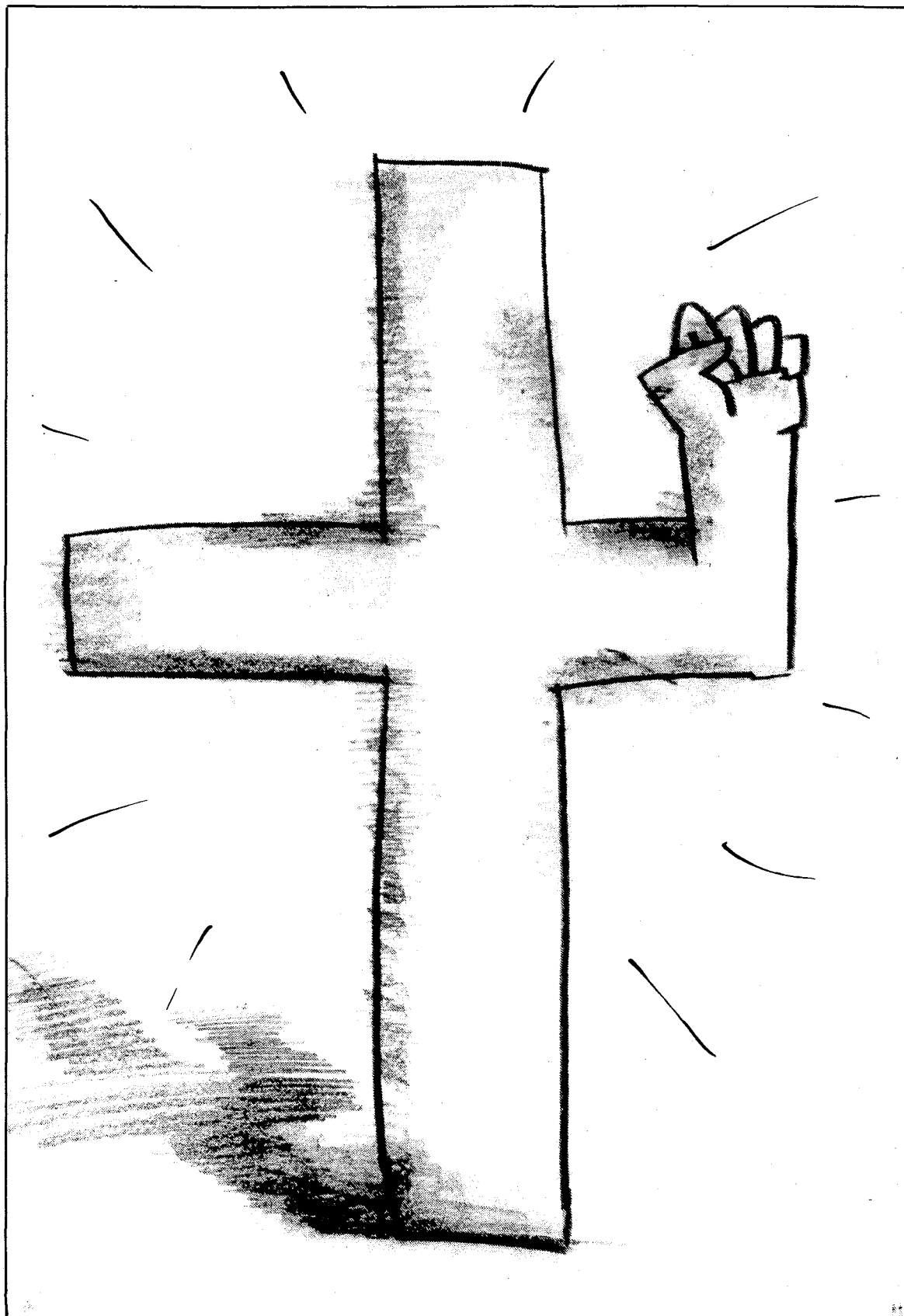
But Cort still covers a lot of political-religious territory. His commentaries on the struggles by church fathers themselves against conservatism, and on the various religion-touched pioneers of modern socialism against the cruel industrial capitalism, are powerful and fascinating. He often writes, oddly but eloquently, as if carrying on a personal disputation with intellectuals centuries dead, describing and discussing the merits of their particular religious and social arguments. One cannot quite be sure of Cort's choices, historically or intellectually. But his directness lends a welcome tone of anti-pomposity to *Christian Socialism*.

Cort ends up more or less where he began, urgently preaching the case of the suffering billions, almost as urgently warning against a merely materialistic solution to their suffering. Like the pontiff (whose recent Encyclical asks: "How can one justify the fact that huge sums of money, which could and should be used for increasing the development of peoples, are instead utilized for the enrichment of individuals or groups, or assigned to the increase of stock-piles of weapons?"), Cort is anxious that Liberation Theologians may at times be more Marxist than Christian.

He is searching, not for a "middle way" between capitalism or communism or between medieval church tyranny and modern apathy, but a *different* way, a "vocation" that is at once "earthly and transcendent." Whether he finds it in real life or not, he has applied this spirit to *Christian Socialism*. Readers will want to pick up the book, argue mentally, even slam it down and then start up again later. When they do, they'll find the pugnacious Cort ready to tussle—non-violently, of course.

Paul Buhle has written widely (and wildly) on religion and radicalism.

Religious communitarian colonies launched socialism in the New World. Abolitionism, women's rights and early labor reform efforts transformed biblical watchwords into political action.



New Voices: Student Political Activism in the '80s and '90s

By Tony Vellela
South End Press, 279 pp., \$11.00

By William E. Cain

TONY VELLELA'S VALUABLE BOOK convincingly demonstrates the vitality of student activism in the '80s and outlines a range of student-led movements and issues likely to figure prominently in the '90s. *New Voices* is not, Vellela concedes, "a work of history or sociology or political analysis." It is, rather, a detailed field report based on a host of interviews with students and faculty at colleges and universities nationwide between November 1986 and July 1987.

Vellela begins by briefly reviewing the central policy questions—divestment, Central America, CIA recruitment, women's and minority rights, academic decision-making—around which students in the '80s have mobilized. He then outlines some of the strategies, including civil disobedience, teach-ins and fund raising, that students have pursued—often in the face of fierce opposition from administrators and amused skepticism from the media.

Later chapters, buttressed by cogent excerpts from Vellela's interviews, examine more closely the forms of student protest that focus on divestment, U.S. Central America policy, campaigns for equal rights and efforts to dispute the academy's manifold connections to the war machine. Vellela pays close attention to specific organizations and networks that students have developed and lists resources and popular tactics.

Not fade away: Vellela emphasizes that student activism "never went away" after the '60s ended, and indeed has shown a vigorous, combative life in recent years as students rose to challenge the cruelties of Reaganism at home and abroad. The evidence of campus protest that Vellela musters is especially useful because, as he points out, the media have consistently portrayed campuses as "quiet" and "tranquil," or else, when they have reported divestment rallies or sit-ins against CIA recruitment, have tended to label them as mere "throwbacks to the '60s."

If one were to listen exclusively to mass-media reporters and pundits, Vellela stresses, one would conclude that students are oblivious to the world around them and venture forth only in small numbers on rare occasions for ill-conceived reenactments of '60s-style happenings. As a slight but revealing instance of the media's habitual screening of contemporary protests through '60s vocabulary, Vellela recalls that Amy Carter, arrested at the University of Massachusetts and put on trial for resisting the CIA, was described by NBC as "living in a commune," as though she were a free-love hippy.

In part such daft comments are the by-product of sloppy journalism;



Enrollment still strong in Protest-101

(in fact Amy Carter shared housing with other people—which is perfectly common and quite respectable). But they promote the notion that today's politicized students are doing something outdated and, unaccountably estranged from the more sensible '80s, are seeking to recapture an ambience that fortunately disappeared long ago.

Cutting edge: Vellela also confronts the hard facts that afflict student activists. Students not only have sought to resist racism, sexism and homophobia in the culture as a whole, but have also tried, not always successfully, to engage these issues within their own movements and groups. As the National Student Convention held at Rutgers in February 1988 made clear, students are still in the process of defining equitable, sensitive modes of exercising authority. They are also painfully laboring to form coalitions that will give a fair hearing to all voices and that will not end up locating blacks, women and gays and lesbians on the margins.

Vellela properly takes a highly affirmative, yet somewhat qualified, slant on student activism in the '80s and its prospects for the '90s. But the overall situation is, I think, even more complicated and double-edged than he suggests. To be sure, as Vellela testifies, students have launched many potent forays against Reaganism. Yet many students voted for Reagan and are now loyal to George Bush, have indicated that "material well-being" is their top priority in life and have rapidly shifted from liberal arts to engineering and other subjects that presumably guarantee quick financial success. Reaganism has radicalized many students but has also won numerous converts for its new gospel of wealth.

Most students are not, I suspect,

particularly happy converts to Reagan's preaching, nor are they intrinsically selfish and self-absorbed. But they are fearful, burdened by an ideology and economics of scarcity. They are keenly conscious of the possibility that they might not survive the tough competition for well-paying (if not necessarily satisfying) jobs. And this colors their sense of the political risks they can afford to take while in school.

Economic pressures: Higher education is, of course, a daunting investment for most people. Students often must work long hours to help pay their way, and, with outright grants and scholarships now mostly

Vellela confronts the hard economic and political facts that afflict student organizers.

replaced by loans, students and their parents frequently borrow hefty sums of money that must eventually be repaid at exorbitant rates of interest.

The scary cost of college, along with the specter of inflation, recession, unemployment and underemployment, worries students from the moment they start to sketch their college plans. This is one of the reasons why the "career center," as the *New York Times* recently reported, is the first thing that parents and students investigate when they visit college campuses. Families fall into debt as soon as freshman year begins, and that debt only deepens for those students who go on to graduate or professional school. Debt and the limited number of rewarding jobs crucially affect a student's choices and badly narrow

and distort his or her sense of what might be explored, done and dared while in school and afterward.

Racism, sexism, homophobia, organizational confusion and uncertainty, an ever-changing leadership (as graduation takes its toll), the weakness of the Democratic Party and the absence of a third-party alternative—these are some of the pressing difficulties that students confront as they continue to wage their fight against militarism and injustice.

But if a large-scale student move-

ment is to emerge, then perhaps it will need first to address the economics of higher education and its place within the general American political economy. Student activists and their supporters must energize other students (and parents) to protest against the drastic cuts in aid to higher education and lead them to understand the personal, intellectual and social costs—and denied opportunities—that result from the strain of paying the bills.

William E. Cain is director of American studies at Wellesley College.

NOTEBOOK

Refugees of a Hidden War: The Aftermath of Counterinsurgency in Guatemala

By Beatriz Manz
SUNY Press, 288 pp., \$17.95

Beatriz Manz and her team of field researchers spent more than a year studying the experiences and living conditions of the largely rural Indian population displaced from their traditional homelands by the Guatemalan military's counterinsurgency campaigns of the early '80s. As many as one million people (out of Guatemala's 8 million) were uprooted and forced to seek refuge from the army's massacres—either by hiding out in the wilderness or in a shantytown in the capital, or by fleeing to a nearby country. Of the more than 200,000 estimated to have left the country, 46,000 remain in refugee camps on the Mexican side of the border, and the occupants of these camps together with the internal refugees resettled into three northern highland villages are the focus of Manz' study.

Her account of life in these Guatemalan villages reveals in

microscopic fashion how little difference a civilian president has made in the daily life of the country's Indian population. Having disrupted the traditional forms of community life (the people's relationship to the land, their means of earning a living, their housing patterns, long-established civil-religious hierarchies), the military has implanted itself as a pervasive element within Indian communities that had previously enjoyed a large measure of autonomy. It has restructured their daily routines with such new institutions as obligatory "civilian patrols" and "community labor," "model villages" and the military oversight of all local civilian authority. This militarization of everyday life has brought in its train an atmosphere of fear and distrust undermining social bonds and precipitated a breakdown in traditional norms of millennial cultures.

Manz' work is a valuable reminder of the gulf that separates instant democracies like Guatemala's from governments devoted to improving the living conditions of ordinary people.

—Larry Garner

The Last Temptation of Christ

Directed by Martin Scorsese

By Danny Duncan Collum

THE LAST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST was almost 20 years in the making. Director Martin Scorsese says he's wanted to do the film ever since Barbara Hershey, who eventually got to play Mary Magdalene in the movie, gave him a copy of Nikos Kazantzakis' novel when they were working together on *Boxcar Bertha* back in 1968. In interviews throughout the '70s and '80s Scorsese spoke of *Last Temptation* as his dream project. But funding for the picture proved elusive.

Finally a deal was struck that allowed the film to go forward. Then came the predictable controversy. In the wake of several recent setbacks the Christian right seemed desperate for an issue to put it back on the political-cultural map and reignite the fire in the wallets of their direct-mail donors. In *Last Temptation* they saw such an issue. Over the summer they began mobilizing their network against the blasphemers of Babylon-by-the-Pacific. Finally, the distributors moved up the release date by more than a month to pre-empt the rightists' organizing timeline.

When the film was first released there were demonstrations at the theaters. And a few theater owners vowed not to take the movie. It was one of the few movie openings ever covered on the *CBS Evening News* and *Entertainment Tonight*. But the second wave release on Labor Day weekend went more quietly.

Fundamentalist flaps: After all this, *The Last Temptation of Christ* might seem destined to become one of those movies, like Godard's *Hail Mary*, that is more talked about than seen. The fundamentalist flap has undoubtedly helped at the box office for what would, under normal circumstances, have been a moderately successful arthouse film. But at times in recent weeks *Last Temptation*, the movie, has threatened to disappear into the shadow of *Last Temptation*, the First Amendment issue.

That would be a shame. But as it turns out, behind all the brouhaha, there is quite an impressive and challenging movie now playing, often under the guard of armed police, in theaters nationwide.

Based on his past work, if you tried to envision a movie of the life of Christ directed by Martin Scorsese, you might imagine Nazareth transposed to Brooklyn, with Robert De Niro as a black-leather messiah, and maybe with "He's a Rebel" by the Crystals as a theme song. But instead Scorsese, a great lover of genre films—witness his '40s-style musical *New York, New York*—has taken on the task of revivifying the never-too-lively costume genre of the biblical



Willem Dafoe continues the Hollywood tradition of fair-haired blue-eyed saviors.

The lasting brouhaha over Scorsese's *Last Temptation of Christ*

epic.

In the process Scorsese has brought along some of the problems inherent in the costume drama—like sticking familiar Hollywood faces, most notably Harvey Keitel's, into ill-fitting ancient-era duds. But he avoided others, like putting King James "thees" and "thous" into the mouths of his Strasbergian mumbler.

Anachronism and accuracy: He does follow the Hollywood tradition of casting a blonde-haired, blue-eyed savior (Willem Dafoe). And too many of the film's other supposed Near Eastern Jews bear the

anachronistic features of Northern Europe. But notwithstanding this perhaps unavoidable lapse, Scorsese takes pains to locate the story in a cultural context similar to the one in which it actually occurred. He filmed among the rocky hillsides and ancient walled cities of Morocco. His crowd scenes are liberally sprinkled with Arab extras and a few blacks. Peter Gabriel's score is a very effective synth-and-drums adaptation of Middle Eastern musical styles.

As the Kazantzakis quote before the opening credits warns us, the obsession of his novel (and of Scorsese's film) is the interaction of spirit

and flesh that are eternally at war in the human species. Christian doctrine holds that this schism is reconciled in the person of Jesus Christ who was true God and true man, fully human and fully divine, spirit made flesh. Christian theology holds that this unity of spirit and flesh, called Incarnation, is continued in the community of believers and will eventually envelope the Earth, transforming it into the Kingdom of God.

Scorsese, the ex-Catholic seminarian, and screenwriter Paul Schrader, the fallen Dutch Reform Calvinist, are both intimately familiar with these ingredients of Christian orthodoxy. And whatever Scorsese and Schrader's current personal relationship with these ingredients, they take them as givens and make them into visual drama.

One of Scorsese's greatest imaginative challenges is to visualize and dramatize what it would be like to be an apparently ordinary human in-

advertently bearing the weight of the Godhead. Here Willem Dafoe carries the weight. Despite his Aryan good looks, he is no Jeffrey Hunter. Dafoe's Jesus writhes in pain as he feels God tearing like claws at his flesh. He tells us he's been haunted his whole life by the feeling of being followed. Wild animals appear from nowhere and speak to him. Even after he begins

FILM

to act out his divine role through preaching and healing he is filled with doubt. Not until the very end does he know where it's all going. "God only speaks to me a little at a time," he says. "He only tells me as much as I need to know."

In Scorsese's telling, Jesus' key relationships are with Judas Iscariot and Mary Magdalene. These relationships are little explicated in the bibli-

Scorsese takes pains to locate the story in the proper historical context.

cal accounts. But what is there tantalizes the imagination. Magdalene was a prostitute who forsook that profession to join Jesus' band. Judas Iscariot, the betrayer, was clearly one of Jesus' closest and most trusted associates. This can be inferred from the biblical information that he kept the treasury for Jesus' group.

Spirited flesh: In this imagined fifth gospel, we learn that Jesus knew both Magdalene and Judas long before his public work began. Magdalene, in fact, was a childhood playmate and puppy-love sweetheart. We get the impression that they were the type of couple that everyone in the village expected to grow up and get married.

It's in Jesus' relationship with Magdalene that another level of the spirit-flesh dilemma is enacted. He loves her, as both God and man. But if he's to follow the uncertain path God seems to be pushing him down, then the consummation of human love in marriage seems out of the question. Hence the "last temptation" of the much-discussed fantasy sequence in which Jesus rejects death on the cross to marry and settle down with Mary Magdalene.

It is in the running dialogue with Judas that questions of spirit and flesh are put into a political context. Judas Iscariot is a Zealot (which biblical scholarship now tells us he in fact was). The Zealots were the Jewish national liberation army of 1st-century Palestine at war with the hated Roman occupiers.

Judas is attracted to Jesus because he is among the first to suspect that Jesus might be the Messiah, and in the Judaism of the day, the

Messiah was expected to restore Jewish nationhood by divine war. Judas is the first disciple and by far the strongest and most intelligent of the men in Jesus' circle. He's the one who sits up with the Master late at night, when the others are snoring, to talk about what it all means and where their enterprise is going.

Fleshing out the spirit: Predictably enough, Judas is encouraged when Jesus speaks on behalf of the poor and oppressed and positively exhilarated when he rails against the rich and powerful. But he is mystified, and even angered, when Jesus starts talking about loving your enemy and turning the other cheek. Judas is convinced that the Romans are the problem.

Jesus counters that unless the

heart is transformed and a revolution built on love, then victory over Rome would only be followed by a new kind of tyranny. And thus is launched an eternal debate. Do you change the world by changing the way people think and feel? Or do you do it by changing the circumstances under which they are forced to live? Do you serve best by fighting and killing, or by loving and dying?

Probably the most creative attempts to resolve this dilemma have come from political figures who were personally inspired by the life of Jesus, namely Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. They sought to fashion, from the power of Jesus' self-sacrifice, a redemptive and effective weapon of social trans-

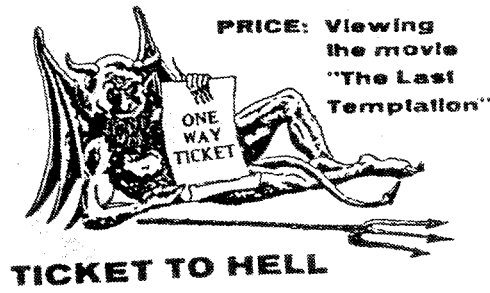
formation.

Scorsese has told interviewers that his final break with the Catholic Church came after he heard a priest deliver a theological defense of the Vietnam War. So he is aware of the significance of these questions in both religious and political terms. And it is refreshing to hear such literally ultimate concerns talked out in an American movie house.

It is also refreshing to see a major American artist actively interacting with religious stories and values. Religion, of one kind or another, is currently shaping our culture and our world more insistently than at any time in the modern era. In Nicaragua, South Africa, Poland and America, social movements of the left and right push in drastically conflicting

directions, with all sides claiming Jesus of Nazareth as their inspiration. The ongoing debate about just who this Jesus is has become too much the property of various commissars and the voice of the artist is sorely missed.

Danny Duncan Collum is an associate editor of *Sojourners*.



Protesters distributed valuable coupons at screenings of *Last Temptation*.

EVERYONE HAS A LAST DAY ON EARTH AND A FIRST DAY IN ETERNITY...

WHERE DO YOU WANT TO SPEND ETERNITY?

DECEIVED NOT MOCKED

PUSH HIM

Friel's Ireland avoids getting lost in *Translations*

By Margaret Spillane

BRIAN FRIEL'S PLAYS ARE NOT written to "explain" Ireland to the rest of the world. So when his play *Translations*, set in a tiny 19th-century Irish village, had its British premiere in 1981 and was hailed by the *London Times* as a national classic, the recognition was no great milestone to him. In an interview at the time he admitted that, while the attention was pleasing, "as you get older it becomes more important to make some impact on your own tiny little island."

That dedication to the "tiny little island" of Ireland is why the world premiere of *Translations* was not on the London stage. *Translations*—like most of Friel's plays since—actually was first performed in the Northern Irish industrial city of Derry, not far from the town of Omagh where Friel was born.

Muffled and muzzled voices: American theatergoers are probably more familiar with Friel than with any other living Irish playwright. His *Fathers and Sons* had its American premiere at Long Wharf Theatre in New Haven, Conn., last spring, and many of his works have migrated across the Atlantic. The first to be seen on these shores was *Philadelphia, Here I Come!*, a 1966 Broadway hit. In play after play Friel explores in painful detail the difference between what is said and what is thought, and how history can hinder the ability of people to speak.

Friel's plays have been translated into many languages and have been produced on six continents, but despite his success he has avoided being put on a pedestal and revered as a Great Man of the Theater. He prefers to situate his own art, and himself as an artist, within an Irish context and under the auspices of Field Day, an organization he co-founded with Irish actor Stephen Rea eight years ago in Derry.

Their Field Day Theatre Company intends to launch a new Friel play in Derry every year, then take it on an Irish tour and, finally, take the

new play onto a high-profile stage such as London's. *Translations*, with Rea in the lead, was Field Day's first production.

Enthusiasm for the newborn company was immediate and fervent throughout Ireland. That success reflected, in part, the particular place of theater in Irish life. Friel mentions the statistics for theatergoing in Western nations—no more than 4 percent of the population ever sees live theater. But in Ireland—a country still overwhelmingly rural—the figures are double.

Theatrical Jones: Friel thinks that some of the reasons for theater's greater appeal there are cultural—"We [Irish] have a sense of the spoken word"—but other reasons are

"As you get older," says Irish playwright Brian Friel, "it becomes more important to make some impact on your own tiny little island."

logistical. He mentions that in America you've got to drive a lot, then pay a lot, to see good theater. In Ireland, neither is the case: "You can leave your fireside 20 minutes before the event."

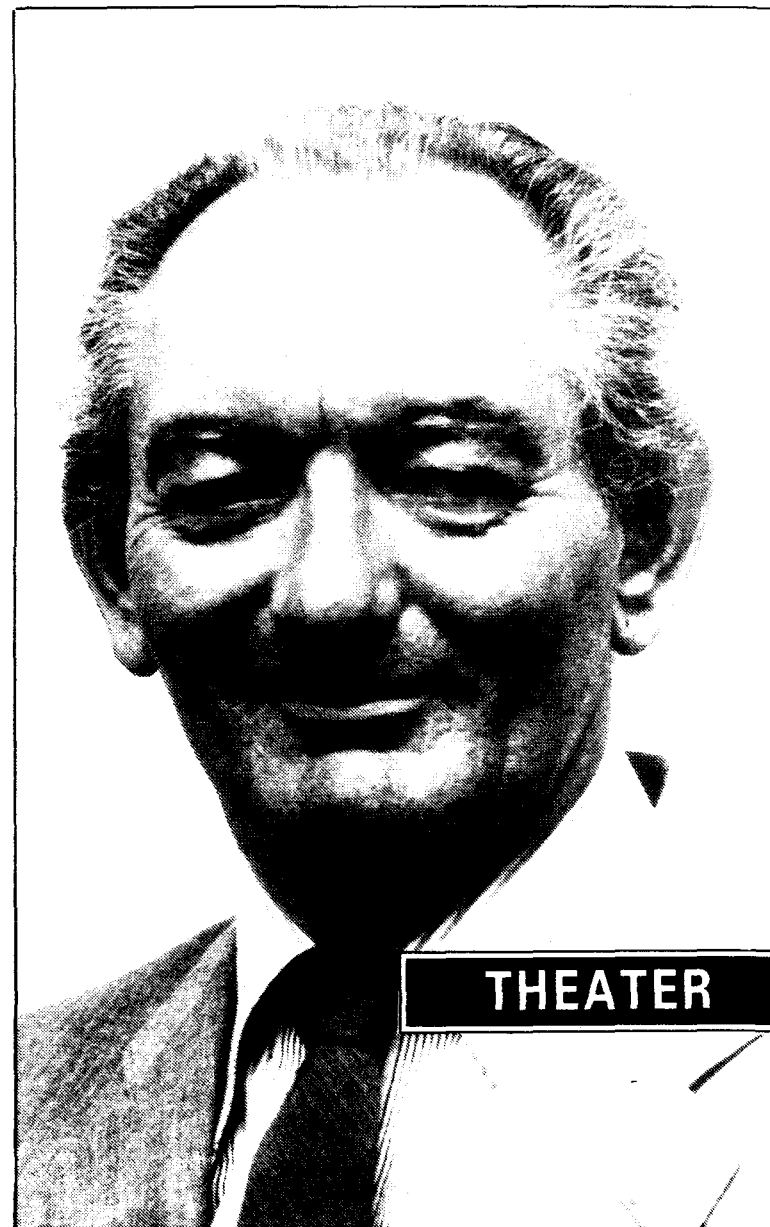
In short order, Field Day expanded its base from strictly theatrical endeavors, adding an unusual sideline for an arts organization: pamphleteering. Field Day began publishing the opinions of new members of the group who were neither actors nor playwrights but other Irish writers. These included, in Friel's words, people of "both traditions" in divided Northern Ireland, addressing different aspects of Ireland's political and cultural situation. Friel explains that the decision to thus expand operations was a question of being resourceful: "Here we had friends not involved in theater who were so en-

thusiastic about our project, it seemed wasteful not to make use of their talents." But that modest statement understates the project's goal: "Making a literature which is securely Irish," in the words of novelist Thomas Flanagan.

Why did they choose pamphlets as their form of expression? Friel laughs and defines pamphleteering as "speaking your mind with more confidence than you feel. It's somewhat dangerous—you may speak of things you're not quite sure of." Speaking in the loud voice of the pamphlet is "very far removed from

the privacy of the heart," Friel says. "Part of you wants to be involved this way, but another part..."

Expanding the field: Field Day's next pamphlet series will feature a significant departure: non-Irish writers. The three new pamphleteers will be the English novelist and critic Terry Eagleton, the Palestinian-born scholar Edward Said and the American literary theorist Fredric Jameson. Field Day proposed their topic—"Colonialism and Nationalism." Explains Friel: "We thought we'd have three people from the outside look at Ireland."



THEATER

Brian Friel: one good reason for Ireland's strong theatrical appetite.

Field Day's theatrical side has also expanded—not only as a showcase for new works by Friel but also for works commissioned by the company. The Belfast poet Tom Paulin adapted the *Antigone* of Sophocles in a play called *The Riot Act*, and Belfast native Derek Mahon translated Moliere's *École des Femmes* into *High Time*. Friel also adapted Chekhov's *Three Sisters*.

Fathers and Sons, Friel's adaptation of Turgenev's 1862 novel, did not originate as a Field Day production. Friel claims it was something he wrote because he had time on his hands, because "in general I find the Russians attractive" and in particular because he was intrigued by the young hero Bazarov, the cultural revolutionary bent on blasting apart people's cozy self-delusions. Friel says he was drawn to the restless young man's "passionate, attractive notion of remaking the world."

Friel's next theater project with Field Day will be the production of his new play, *Making History*, about Hugh O'Neill, the last Irish chieftain to be defeated by the armies of Tudor England. O'Neill's surrender signalled the death of the Gaelic order: the play traces O'Neill's last few years in Ireland and his exile in Rome.

Perhaps Field Day's most ambitious project is one whose fruits won't be seen until next year at the earliest: a huge two-volume anthology of Irish literature. The 2,000 pages will be a compendium of Irish achievements with language—both the Irish language and the English language—from the great medieval epics to the ballad tradition to political speeches to the giants of 20th-century fiction and poetry. For the first time the powerful range of Irish letters will be easily available to the English-speaking world.

But Friel and other Field Day members still focus their greatest attentions on serving their own "tiny little island," of providing their own people with the means to articulate their own dreams and convictions within the powerful history of the Irish imagination.

Margaret Spillane writes on theater and the arts for the *New Haven Independent*.

Air show

Continued from page 9

creased 18.6 percent from 1984 to 1988. Is more U.S. military activity in that particular air space really designed to "defend" West Germany, or to hobble an economic rival?

The Hesse administrative court in Wiesbaden ruled on August 25 that the Erbenheim helicopter stationing was illegal, because there had been no authorization procedure. Letting the U.S. Army bring in helicopters without such procedure was incompatible with the Federal Republic of Germany's "unrestricted sovereignty," and a "de facto recognition of occupation rights," the court said.

The court instructed Defense Minister Scholz to immediately notify the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe that the stationing could not take place. Instead, Scholz gave the green light, citing Bonn's exclusive responsibility for improving relations with NATO allies. However, the prime minister of Hesse, Walter Wallmann—like Scholz a Christian Democrat—disputed Scholz' decision and announced that the state of Hesse would take the case to Federal Court.

Yankees go home: Oblivious to all this rumbling among the natives, the Apaches and their U.S. crews are already on their way to Erbenheim from Texas.

The U.S. military presence is more intrusive in West Germany than anywhere else. But that is not the only place where local people wish they were less "defended." There has always been lively local resentment of U.S. bases on the Italian island of Sardinia, especially the U.S. Sixth Fleet and nuclear submarine bases at La Maddalena on the island's north end and the huge

nearby underground nuclear weapons storehouse at Santo Stefano. The Sardinian bases were installed without ever consulting the Italian parliament, much less the local population.

An initiative is underway to remedy this. Signatures have been collected for a regional consultative referendum to be held this December in Sardinia asking: "Are you against the presence in Sardinia of foreign bases under international accords not submitted to the Italian parliament for approval?"

Albania

Continued from page 24

line with its expanding economic threat, it's also pushing aggressively on the diplomatic front. The Albanian consulate on strategic Corfu, a Greek island said to be familiar to members of the Dukakis clan, recently moved from behind a tailor shop to a more accessible side street location with its name brazenly taped on the door knocker. The urchin who used to carry messages to the nearby taverna has dropped out of sight, and there is fear that the Albanians have increased their capacity for subversive mischief by installing a telephone right in the building.

But that's not the half of it. The problem is NATO's southern flank, once described by Churchill as Europe's soft underbelly. The region, beset by history and other anti-American features, has a long record of producing more politics than required for purely local consumption.

Cruisin' for a bruise: Reliable maps show that Albania sits right in the middle of this perennial hotspot. For one thing, the Albanian coast looms menacingly over the vital

Strait of Otranto. Few Americans realize it, but, depending on the season, up to half the free world's cruise ships pass through this important choke point. In today's interdependent world, any effort to disrupt Mediterranean cruising in high season could set off reverberations in the multibillion-dollar tourism industry echoing back to Cleveland's Seaworld and California's Knotts Berry Farm.

The Dukakis camp is anxious to make political hay out of Bush's seemingly cavalier attitude to the emerging Albanian evil. "It's another case of 'Where's George?'" says an unmentionable Mike minion. The Democrats are hoping to stage a repeat of the 1960 debate triumph in which candidate Kennedy nailed then-Vice President Nixon for waffling on the Cuban threat.

The Bush team, for its part, plans to hit back by tarring Dukakis with the "tender on Tiranna" brush. "Do we really want to trust the fate of the free world to someone who has relatives in the Balkans?" bantered a Bush braintruster. This same source indicated that evidence of Dukakis family knowledge of Albania would soon surface.

"That baby won't bouzouki," predicted a confident Dukakis supernumerary. "The average American can't find Canada or Hawaii on a map. Greece has a lot more neighbors than that. If George Bush formerly of the CIA never heard of Albania, Mike is obviously in the clear on this one."

Meanwhile, a highly placed intelligence

cover up or denigrate things like the Hesse protests against Erbenheim helicopters or the Sardinia initiative, Congress members probably don't realize that to many Europeans the "burden" is having U.S. forces clutter up their landscape with dangerous weapons systems. Europeans are suffering protection without representation. The best solution would be to reduce the "burden" through the comprehensive disarmament negotiations now being offered by the Soviet Union. □

source tells of increased trap rock traffic in Libya, Iran and Nicaragua. "We can't really say it's Albanian since trap rock is fungible," notes the source. "But we wouldn't put it past them."

Intelligence specialists are also checking into reports that Albania has a delegation at the U.N. in New York that sits among the countries beginning with the letter A.

The threat deficit: Though a campaign tar baby, the "who allowed Albania?" issue may in fact have a silver lining. In recent months, Washington has been feeling the effects of a threat deficit. From Moscow to Managua, from southwest Africa to southeast Asia, a dangerous wave of reasonableness and willingness to negotiate has undermined America's military posture. This newest enemy ploy is aimed at denying us the hotspots necessary for the exercise of our carrier battle groups and interventionary forces.

With Albania moved to a front burner, the incoming administration, Democrat or Republican, will have a powerful incentive to beef up the military budget and shore up defenses in the Mediterranean. An appropriate answer to the totalitarians of Tiranna would be billions in new aid to Greece, Israel, the contras, Brookline, Texas and other regions directly threatened by unbridled Albanian aggression.

An anticipated fly in the ointment may be reluctance by America's NATO allies to face up to this new challenge. Italian, French and West German leaders are said to be privately sympathetic to U.S. security concerns but politically leery of confronting ardent "appease Albania" elements at home. Only Margaret Thatcher has vowed full support, adding that she is prepared to accuse Albania of instigating British soccer riots and masterminding the troubles in Northern Ireland. ■

Pete Karman gets all the best news leaks.

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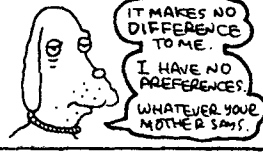
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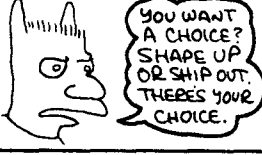
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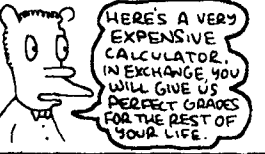
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IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

By Pete Karman

The following shocking yarn was leaked, substance and style, to this writer by an unnamed source in the offices of Washington pundits Heavens and Oldhack.

POLITICAL INSIDERS ARE BRACING FOR A POST-Labor Day presidential campaign bombshell eerily similar to the "Cuban threat issue" with which Kennedy torpedoed Nixon back in 1960. Only this time the smart money can't figure whether Michael Dukakis or George Bush has more to gain, or lose, from this latest and most ominous national security scandal.

What's got operatives in both camps worried sick is unpredictable voter reaction to the about-to-burst revelation that yet another Nicaragua-type threat to our vital interests has been allowed to fester on a beltway back burner while the two presidential candidates mouth baby talk on soft issues like child care.

A top-level national security aide describes the new menace as making the Sandinistas look like Santa Clauses and the Persian Gulf seem like a kiddie pool. "We're talking a dagger aimed at the heart of your basic Western civ," he whispered with dread foreboding.

According to this ultraknowledgeable source, a small band of American hikers, trekking the Balkans as part of a California-based wellness-weirdness-foodness tour, inadvertently stumbled upon a secret communist country strategically and threateningly situated next to Greece, the cradle of Democrat Dukakis.

Bush balks, outsider talks: By a strange irony, one of the hikers had been the college roommate of a key Bush offspring. "So I called and told him about this secret country and he said he would alert his dad. That was the last I heard of it."

However, that was apparently not the first or last that George Bush heard of it. Secret CIA memos are said to show that Bush and others at the White House were in fact well aware of the existence of this Marxist mystery land, and even knew that it was called Albania.

These same memos apparently exonerate President Reagan of any prior, or indeed subsequent, knowledge of Red Albania's provocative presence right under NATO's nose.

In their efforts to play down the story, the Bush forces have been quietly distributing atlases purporting to prove that Albania existed prior to the Reagan presidency and was therefore the fault of the Democrats. "Besides," said a key Bush aide, "there are more than 10 communist countries in the world. How can you expect us to know the name and location of every one of them?"

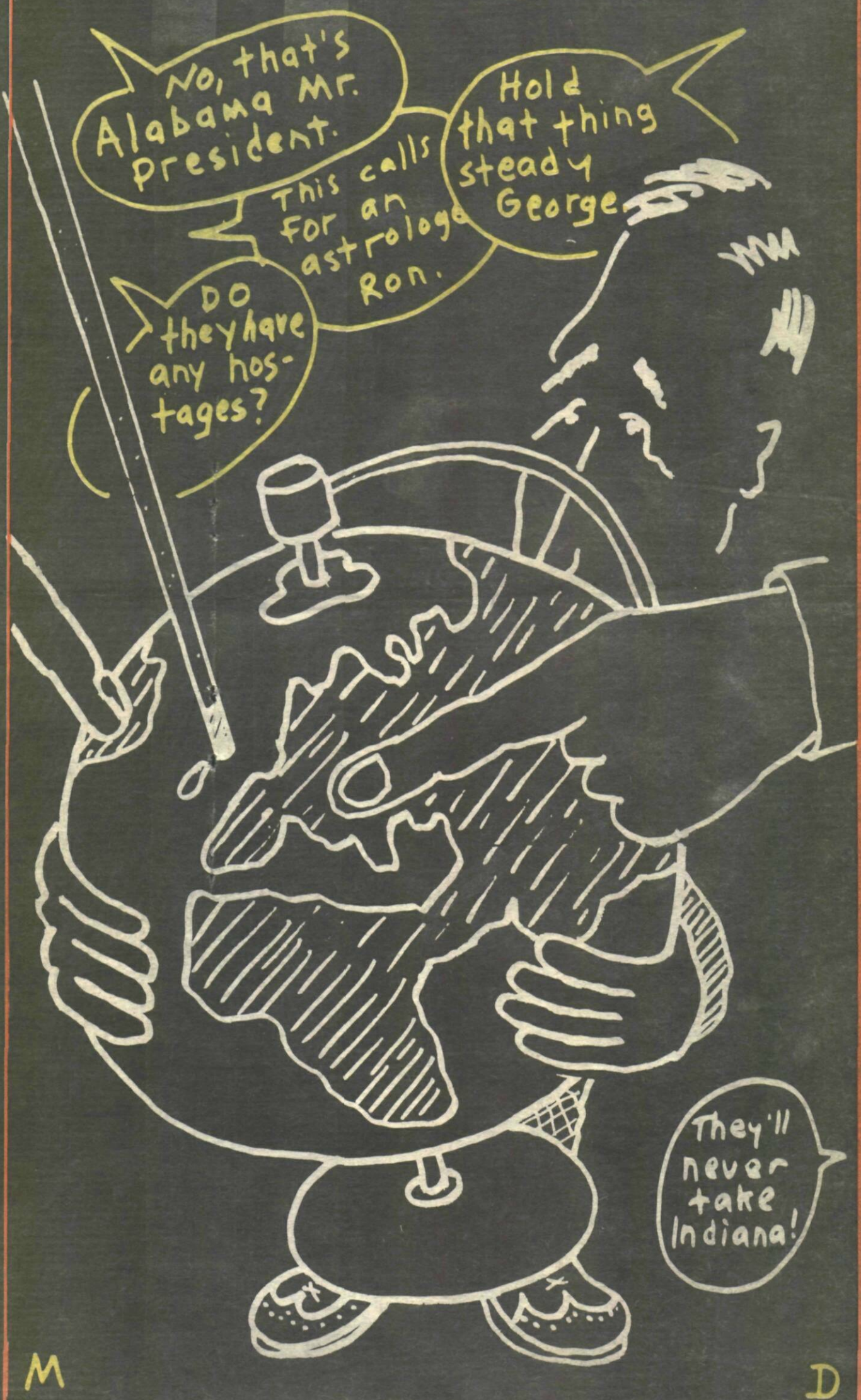
Sensitive sources tell us of a classic foggy-bottom foul-up in which the increasingly worrisome intelligence reports on Albania were ignored because they were thought to be aid requests from Albany, stronghold of Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo.

In any event, the grim specter of a communist Albanian takeover of Christian Europe, Jewish Israel and the Moslem Middle East looms ever and ever larger in the calculations of Pentagon threat assessors.

Confusion on strategic Corfu: "We're facing a diverse and desperate challenge," an unnameable national security specialist told us. "It's not just geopolitical and military, but also economic and ideologically subversive."

Albania has vast reserves of trap rock and is fast becoming a major player in southern Europe's key tomato concentrate market. In

Balkan bombshell clouds campaign



Continued on page 22